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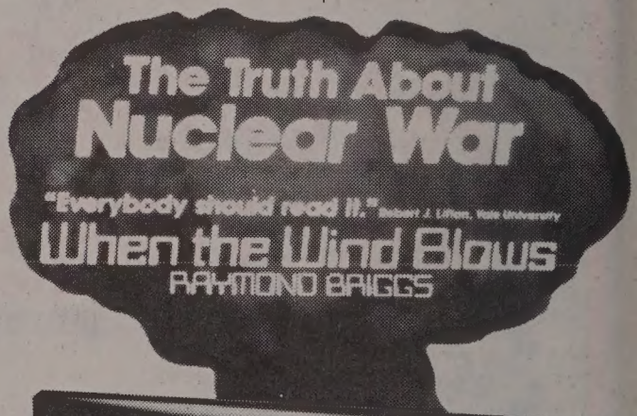
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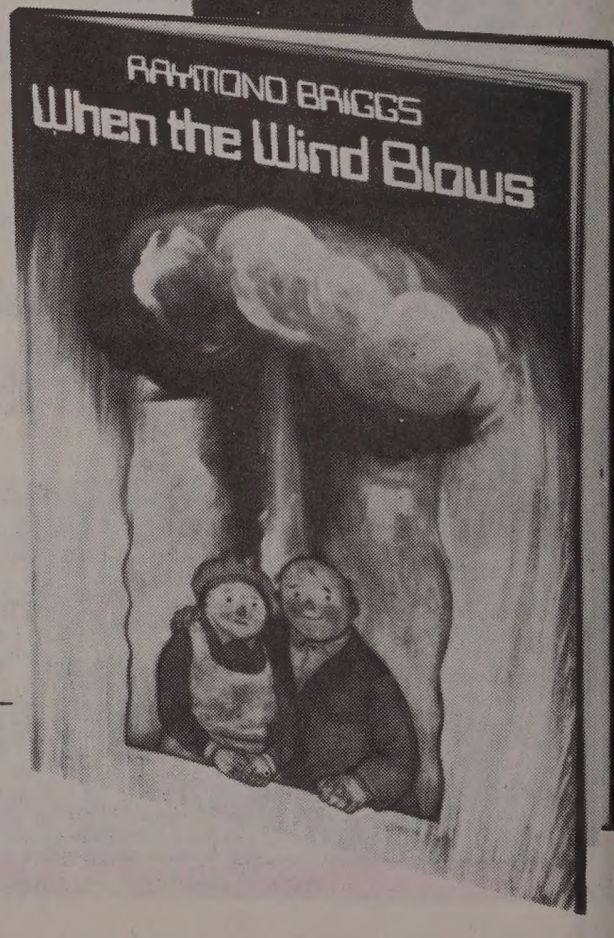

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·NUCLEAR·
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LETTERS

Freezing in Arkansas

Small but significant: The Fayetteville, Arkansas, city council voted in favor of a nuclear arms freeze earlier this year. Our voices raised together will save us. Your magazine is important.

—Ralph Nesson
Fayetteville, Ark.

Liberal Analysis

Nowhere [in the first issue] is there a hint that nuclear war just *might* be initiated by a country other than the United States or the Soviet Union, or that it might explode as a result of a conventional war fueled by passions and weapons provided by the United States, or that the continued export of nuclear reactors, fuel and technology to all buyers, including murderous right-wing regimes, is exacerbating the problem, or that the drive by the United States for global economic hegemony through interventionism rather than the "Cold War" could be the major source of our problems, or that the "Cold War" (and the size of the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals) may well be a smoke screen to disguise American interventionism.

Of course this would not be the first time that American liberals defined the problem in a way that does not threaten existing power structures or values; Vietnam was the most recent and outrageous of these. After all, if one defines the problem too broadly, one tends to attract all kinds of radicals, upstarts, disrupters, etc., who could then infiltrate and eventually control the movement. What better way to consolidate power than by narrowly defining the issue so as to assure that the new blood drawn in does not feel threatened themselves and does not see its own *privileges* threatened? What better way to get a "broad-based constituency" than by watering down the issues politically and morally so that the more "radical" elements are turned off and the more conservative ones welcomed with open arms?

But when you get down to it, what better way is there to fail?

—Lorna Salzman
New York, N.Y.

Hello From The Hill

Thank you for your premiere issue. Your coverage is excellent. Your format is right to the point. It fills a gap that has existed in this area until now.

—Hon. Louis Stokes
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

God Help Us

The nation with the second-best military does not win! When you can depend on the Communists to be reliable and not just *Communists* perhaps your "cause" might be interesting. In the meantime, you are nothing but naive. We cannot *deal* with Russia any more than with Hitler, but you are the kind of people who will never learn from experience. It is all so sad, for another Armageddon is in the offing, and you would disarm first. God help the USA!

—H.P. Johnston Jr.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Errors Apparent

Catania is on the east, not west, coast of Sicily, as you state in your Comiso story in the first issue. [See NUCLEAR TIMES, "Comiso At The Crossroads," p. 22, October 1982.] The Committee is the United Committee for Disarmament and Peace; it is Batazzi, not Betazzi; and the Catholic Church and Vatican have so far been notably uninterested. In the Belgium story ["International Round-Up," p. 24], the name should be Rudolf Bahro, not Bahro Rudol.

—W.H. Ferry
Scarsdale, N.Y.

Search and Destroy

Best of luck with *Nuclear Times*. The control of nuclear weapons is the overshadowing issue of our age, and we must never falter in the search for reciprocal and verifiable means of reduction and abolition.

—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
New York, N.Y.

CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS 4

NATIONAL 6
Catholic Bishops approach a ban stand. November elections point way to 1983 votes. A civil defense showdown. Anti-Trident activists sentenced.

COVER 15
Victims: Atomic Vets become soldiers of peace. "Downwinders" await decision. Mystery at Rocky Flats.

INTERVIEW 20
With George Kennan.

WASHINGTON REPORT 22
By Fred Kaplan

INTERNATIONAL 23
England swings to unilateralism?

MEDIA WATCH 25
By Robert Friedman

CULTURE 26
Atomic Music. Reviews of E.P. Thompson book and "Dark Circle" movie.

RESOURCES 29
By Ann Marie Cunningham
Including an excerpt from "Meet Mr. Bomb."

CALENDAR 30

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•EARLY WARNINGS•

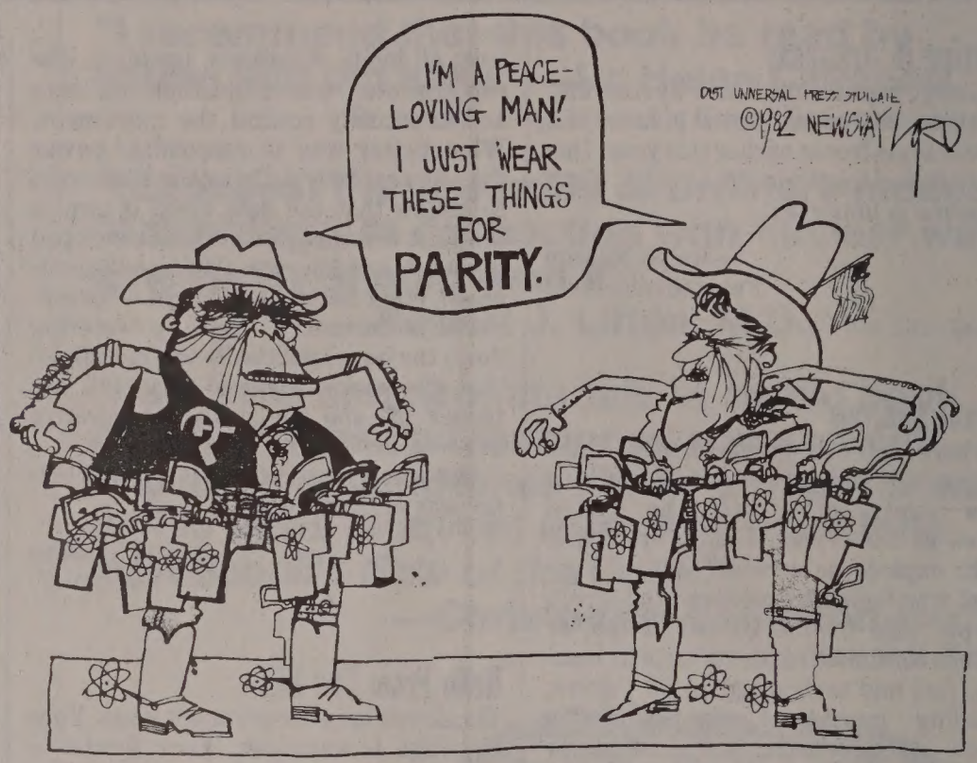
KEHLER TO LEAVE POST: Randy Kehler, who has been national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign since last fall, has announced that he will leave his post in March. Staffers at the national clearinghouse in St. Louis are quick to point out that there's been no major shake-up. Kehler's move follows a personal decision to return to his home in Massachusetts. He will continue to work full-time for the freeze, though his new duties have not been defined yet. "He will probably continue as an ambassador-at-large for the freeze," says Sandy Scarlett of the national clearinghouse. The campaign, she says, hopes to sign up a replacement by January 1.

A COSTLY STORY: After *Parents* magazine ran a story on preventing nuclear war in a recent issue, it received word from one of its advertisers, Spencer's, a manufacturer of children's pajamas, that it was canceling all further advertisements. The reason was quite simple, says the president of Spencer's, James Crossingham: "I don't agree with the philosophy of a magazine which advocates surrendering all spiritual values to communist ideology."

The offending piece, entitled, "The Nuclear Threat: What You Can Do," ran in the June issue and suggested ways the reader could participate in the debate. It listed organizations and books dealing with the issue. "I left it to the individual to decide where he stands and didn't push any specific course," says Yorick Blumenfeld, the author of the article.

John Hahn, publisher of *Parents*, will not comment on Crossingham's move, which will cost the magazine over $100,000 a year. He also will not say whether he is worried that other advertisers will pull out ads whenever *Parents* covers this issue. But Crossingham says that the magazine was "not at all happy with this." He claims they even tried to court him back. He adds, "I don't think nuclear weapons are any different from other weapons. We don't ask the police to lay down their guns, do we?"

BANKRUPTING OUR CITIES: If you live in Norfolk, Virginia, your family stands to gain $27,000 a year from military spending. The average Dallas family gains $3,600; a metropolitan Washington, D.C., family, $6,200. But two-thirds of the metropolitan areas in the country aren't so lucky, says a new report conducted by Dr. James R. Anderson, professor of humanities and economics at Michigan State, and entitled *Bankrupting American Cities*. New York, for instance, will pay $11.7 billion in taxes and only receive $3 billion worth of military spending in the region in 1983, a loss of about $3,100 per family. Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit, and Houston can also expect losses. "Accelerated military spending will result in the impoverishment of major sectors of American society and worsening budget problems for most metropolitan areas," concludes the report.



M.G. Lord on the arms race: From *War Heads*, a collection of nuclear war cartoons.

NUCLEAR HUMOR: Watch for a collection of political cartoons on nuclear war and nuclear disarmament coming this February from Penguin Books. *War Heads*, edited by Steven Heller, the art director of *The New York Times Book Review*, compiles the work of nearly 60 of today's best-known cartoonists, including Jules Feiffer, Gary Trudeau, Pat Oliphant, and Edward Koren. The artists have donated all the royalties from this book to the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

COMPUTERIZING THE MOVEMENT: The anti-nuclear weapons movement has finally moved into the twentieth century, says Chad Dobson of SANE. He is referring to the new computer system put together by SANE, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the Council for a Livable World, and Friends of the Earth. The computer will maintain a list of 20,000 activists (50,000 by the end of 1983) to be used for legislative alerts, as well as aid in tracking nuclear weapons-related legislation on Capitol Hill. The computer, which will be kept in a renovated garage behind SANE's office in Washington, D.C., is expected to go on line in February or March. . . . Representatives of most of the anti-nuclear weapons lobbying groups in Washington met at a joint retreat, November 20 to 22 in Berkeley Springs, West Virginia, to discuss post-election strategy. "This is the first time that we have the lobbying peace organizations and arms control groups on the Hill coming together to establish goals and map strategy," says SANE's Dobson.

FUND RAISES SUSPICIONS: When Monsignor Bruce Kent of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or CND, in England received a form letter from the World Peace Fund, an organization claiming it is "dedicated to increasing public awareness of peace and related issues," he became suspicious. The letter, written by John Janosik, an attorney in San Gabriel, California, bore no office address or phone number, and asked for information about CND, as well as the procedure for obtaining its membership list. Kent sent a copy of the letter to Cora Weiss, director of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program. "It sounded real flakey to me," Weiss says.

Upon examination, the Center for Investigative Journalism found no record of the World Peace Fund anywhere. When located, Janosik told Diana Sperrazza of

the Center that his organization is just in the "idea stage." He said he solicited the mailing lists so he could raise $20,000 to get his operation rolling. Most groups have not cooperated, he admitted.

Janosik said that he and two friends started the World Peace Fund because they were distressed by the "political overtones in the nuclear freeze movement." The group's sole purpose, he said, is to finance generalized peace messages in the media. But Janosik could not produce an example of the message he wants to promote. He conceded that he is thinking of abandoning the entire idea.

PLANNING FOR LOBBY DAY: Citizens Against Nuclear War, or CAN, a coalition of membership organizations opposed to the nuclear arms race (See NUCLEAR TIMES, "National Round-Up," p. 20, October 1982) has recently signed up the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Newspaper Guild, pushing the number of persons it represents to 20 million. CAN, says its executive director, Karen Mulhauser, is now considering plans to participate in a freeze lobby day, tentatively planned for early next year. "The freeze campaign will encourage individuals to come to Washington on that day and lobby for the freeze," says Mulhauser. "We will encourage our member organizations to use their means of communications to get the word out to their members."

LAROCQUE FOR PREZ? Reports from the Washington, D.C., rumor mill had it that retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information, was contemplating a bid for the presidency. Not true, says LaRocque. After he gave a speech in California recently, LaRocque explains, a local group printed a t-shirt with a slogan LaRocque had used in the speech—"Stop, Slow, and Reverse the Arms Race." On the back of the shirt, the group printed, "LaRocque for President." But LaRocque says that he "probably" would not even vote for himself. "I don't think you ought to have a military man as president. It should be left to civilians."

FREEZE ZONES: After the November 2 elections Harold DeVries, a retired statistical analyst in San Francisco, added up the number of residents (based on the 1980 census) living in states which have passed pro-freeze proposals (in the legislature or at the ballot box), added in the population of major cities in other states where voters passed freeze resolutions, and came up with these figures: out of 226.5 million people living in the U.S., 117.3 million live in pro-freeze areas. □

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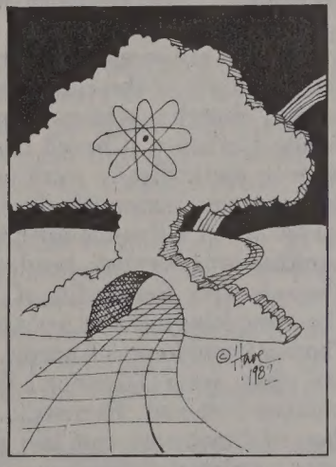

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Bishops' Next Move: Nuclear Ban?

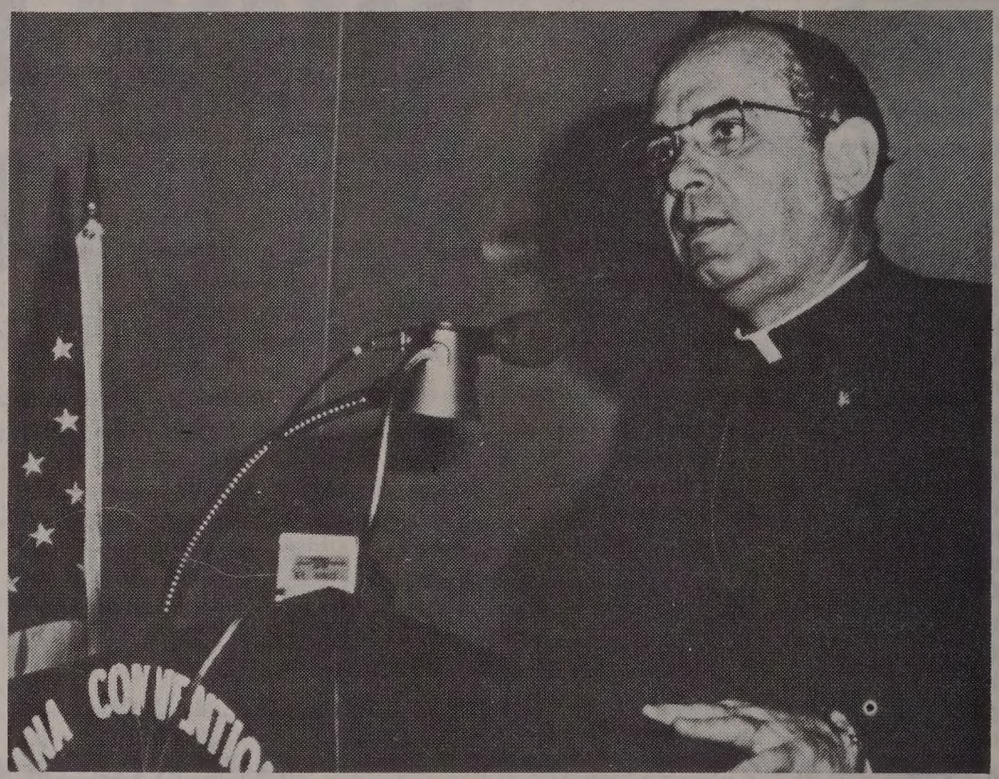
With the release, on October 26, of the second draft of a pastoral letter on nuclear weapons, a committee of Roman Catholic bishops has placed the challenge of peace, for the first time, at the very center of Catholic faith and action. This challenge, if met in even a partial way by the nation's 50 million Roman Catholics, could change the political climate in America for years to come.

The statement by the bishops is by far the most complete and authoritative condemnation of the nuclear arms race ever issued by the Catholic hierarchy. What is emerging among the bishops, although not yet in final form, is a new commitment to Christian pacifism, adapted to the realities of the nuclear age. The Catholic Church in this country is lining up with traditional "peace churches," such as the Quakers and Mennonites. The significance of this shift for Catholics, and for the nation as a whole, may be monumental.

The release of the 105-page draft of the pastoral letter, entitled *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*, made front-page headlines around the country. The media focused on the bishops' moral reservations about "the deterrence policy of our nation," and their opposition to new weapons systems, such as the MX missile, which improve first-strike capability. The bishops, it was widely reported, called for "immediate, bilateral, verifiable agreements to halt the testing, production and deployment of new strategic systems" and expressed support for "deep cuts" in the arsenals of the superpowers.

But the pastoral letter is more than just another official denunciation of the arms race. In calling upon Catholics to consider the moral implications of the arms build-up, the document redefines what it means to be an active Catholic in America today. The bishops are, in essence, developing a new theology of peace, and calling upon the church, and society as a whole, to become engaged in the process.

"We are called to move from discussion to witness and action," the bishops wrote, in responding to critics who argued that they should stay out of politics.



Archbishop Joseph Bernardin: Moving the church toward a theology of peace

Pastoral letters are occasionally drawn up by the hierarchy of the church in an effort to apply church teachings to moral issues facing Catholics. Church leadership has been methodically working on the nuclear weapons statement since November 1980 when a five-member bishops committee was formed, headed by Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Chicago. (The committee includes a peace activist, Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, and a military vicar, John O'Connor.) When the committee first met, Bernardin was archbishop of Cincinnati, but last summer he was appointed archbishop of Chicago, making him the head of the largest Catholic diocese in the nation. This appointment gave the committee's work more clout.

The five men and their staff met more than a dozen times in the past 18 months. They interviewed scores of moral theologians, peace activists, military authorities, and policy-makers within the Reagan Administration. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger told the committee that "the burden of proof must fall upon those who would depart from the sound policies of deterrence which have kept the peace for so long."

The bishops issued the first draft of their letter in June and requested responses. More than 700 comments were sent to the committee. In a letter to the bishops, Weinberger wrote that their views might weaken America's deterrent strategy, thereby making nuclear war more likely. William Clark, Reagan's national security adviser, told the bishops in another letter that their condemnation of America's first-strike resolve could invite war in Europe. The bishops' statement, he said, could lead "the Soviets to believe that Western Europe was open to conventional aggression."

To the surprise of many observers, inside and outside the church, the second draft of the letter, circulated at the end of October, was even more critical of the arms race than the first. This draft was debated in Washington, D.C., at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 15 to 18, but it will not be revised and voted on until some time next year. Major revisions are not expected.

This final statement will be more than

symbolic. It will call on all priests, Catholic educators, religious leaders, and peace and justice committees within the Church to make all Catholics aware of the contents of the letter, and enact programs that will resist further arms escalations and work for serious disarmament. It is likely to offer support for civil disobedience. "Non-violent resistance," the bishops wrote in the second draft, "deserves a serious place in any positive theology of peace."

The bishops have not confined themselves to abstractions. The pastoral letter specifically condemns retaliatory strikes and any use of nuclear weapons aimed at population centers. The statement further condemns *any* first-strike use of nuclear weapons—even if NATO forces were being overrun by Soviet forces in Europe. The bishops repeatedly stated that the boundary that separates conventional and nuclear war must never be crossed. "We find the moral responsibility of beginning nuclear war not justified by rational political objectives," they said. The bishops also denounced any measures which might limit human involvement in the decision to fire a nuclear weapon—an apparent reference to "launch on warning" systems.

The bishops issued directives to ordinary citizens as well as policy-makers. They warned military personnel that it was immoral to "carry out orders or policies deliberately aimed at killing noncombatants." And they called on men and women employed in defense plants to take a hard look at this line of work.

While the bishops denounced the production, use, and threatened use of nuclear weapons, they stopped short of condemning their outright possession. Until now the church hierarchy has accepted the argument that these weapons may, in fact, deter war and save lives. The bishops' letter, however, offers a "strictly conditioned" acceptance of elements of the U.S. deterrent system only so long as "progress toward a world freed of the threat of deterrence" is being pursued through arms control and disarmament.

Within this acceptance lies a veiled threat. The bishops may come to condemn the very possession of nuclear weapons, if the weapons remain an integral part of the U.S. defense system and if meaningful negotiations toward disarmament do not take place. To stimulate these negotiations the bishops recommend unilateral U.S. disarmament initiatives, but they have not spelled them out. The bishops said that they "cannot at this time" require Catholics who work in weapons plants to quit their jobs, but added: "Should we become convinced that even the temporary possession of such weapons may no longer be morally tolerated, we would logically be required to consider immoral any involvement in their manufacture."

Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen at an anti-Trident protest in Bangor, Washington

How will lay Catholics respond to the bishops' message? No one knows for sure. Many conservatives probably agreed with one prominent Catholic, columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., when he offered this rebuke to the bishops: "To say our possession of the nuclear bomb is marginally justifiable is to say, in effect, that 37 years without a world war is marginally justifiable." Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute, another leading lay Catholic writer, has pointed out that "the bishops have encouraged Catholics to question the government, and inevitably Catholics are also going to question the bishops . . . . The more [the bishops] leave behind the Gospel and the more private judgment they get involved in, the more they are just like every other citizen."

But Catholic peace ranks have swelled in recent months. Nearly half of the 348 U.S. bishops have signed in support of the nuclear freeze. A Catholic peace organization, Pax Christi—USA, has quadrupled in size in two years; fifty-six bishops belong to the group. Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle has called on people to refuse to pay 50 percent of their federal income tax—the portion that goes for defense spending. Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Texas, has suggested that those in his diocese should not work at a local nuclear weapons plant. Meanwhile, lay Catholics, priests, and nuns are spearheading acts of non-violent resistance against weapons policy and weapons manufacturing. (*See page 12.*)

Some analysts familiar with church policy have openly worried that a serious split in Catholic ranks was almost certain as a result of the bishops' action. But after reading the second draft of the letter last month, many have observed that the document could rally wide support because of its strong grounding in theology, and because, as one Catholic nun who is active in the peace movement put it, "survival is, after all, a conservative issue." Catholic peace activists are likely to be somewhat disturbed that the hierarchy has not unequivocally condemned the possession of instruments of massive death.

The debate among Catholics extends beyond U.S. shores. Catholic bishops in Europe are also examining their nations' roles in the arms race and have been keeping an eye on the U.S. Catholic hierarchy, before issuing final judgements. The final draft of the bishops' letter, to be issued next year, will not only shape the Catholic conscience in the United States but will set the tone and standards by which the Catholic Church worldwide will consider this pressing issue, with potentially enormous consequences.

—Thomas C. Fox

Thomas C. Fox is editor of the National Catholic Reporter.

PHOTO: NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER/GORDON OLIVER

FREEZE POLITICS

Elections Won, Key Votes Ahead

The results were slow coming in at the National Education Association building in Washington, D.C., which was election night headquarters for a number of peace activists. As the platters of cheese and crackers dwindled, there were a few moments of doubt. Many wondered whether the Reagan Administration's eleventh-hour attack on the freeze might seriously affect voters, especially in California where a Mervin Field poll had predicted a close call.

"The Reagan people didn't do very much, and they did it very late," said John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. "But I've still got my fingers crossed."

When the night was over, almost all the results were positive. Voters in eight states, including California, had approved similarly-worded referendums calling for a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. So had voters in 27 counties and cities (including Chicago, Philadelphia, and Denver), plus the District of Columbia. Only in Arizona and in two counties—one in Arkansas and one in Colorado—was the freeze rejected. And in Cleveland voters approved a charter amendment that would prohibit the city from spending money for civil defense against nuclear attack.

In addition, the new makeup of the House of Representatives seems to guarantee that a freeze resolution will pass in its next session—it failed by two votes in August—because several members of the so-called "Doomsday Dozen" had been defeated.

"We are claiming victory on two fronts: on the referendum votes and in the House," Isaacs said the next day. "And we're starting to look at 1984." The Council for a Livable World is already considering nine U.S. senators as possible targets in the next national election, he explained.

The idea of a "Doomsday Dozen" started with PeacePAC, an electoral arm of the Council, and from the beginning it was a great media gimmick. A group of political action committees, known as PACs, would try to defeat 12 of the most notorious nuclear advocates in Congress. The Council for a Livable World formed a second PAC for Senate races, selecting 18 targets and spending $450,000. PeacePAC eventually spent $73,000 in 53 House races, and the National Committee for an Effective Congress, or NCEC, contributed $405,000 to 96 House and 13 Senate races. Much of this money went into the "Doomsday Dozen" campaign.

Friends of the Earth PAC added $150,000 in 48 races. SANEPAC put $25,000 into 32 races. And Philip Stern, chairman of the Citizens for Common Sense in National Defense, raised $150,000 to produce and distribute a 60-second television spot for use against ten incumbent Republicans. (This spot, however, was rejected by stations in many areas, forcing Stern to take out newspaper ads instead.)

But the groups did not agree on a single "Doomsday Dozen," partly because of federal election laws that would have imposed strict spending limits on the PACs if they had coordinated their campaigns. Although there was overlap from list to list, the "dozen" actually turned out to be closer to four dozen.

In the Senate 11 of the 18 targets on the Council for a Livable World list were defeated. But in the states that received the highest priority—Utah ($65,000), Connecticut ($55,000), and Wyoming ($45,000)—all three incumbents (respectively, Orrin Hatch, Lowell Weicker, and Malcolm Wallop) won.

In the House the opposite tended to be true. Of PeacePAC's original dozen, eight survived; and of the 13 on NCEC's anti-freeze list (including seven duplicates from PeacePAC) eight also were winners. But where the highest amounts of money were invested, the targeted candidates were defeated: John LeBoutillier of New York, Don Clausen of California, John Rousselot of California,

Ben Senturia and Randy Kehler, freeze campaign coordinators: Election night in St. Louis.

Freeze Results

PLACE	PERCENT IN FAVOR
ARIZONA	41
CALIFORNIA	52.5
MASSACHUSETTS	74
MICHIGAN	58
MONTANA	56
NEW JERSEY	76
NORTH DAKOTA	58
OREGON	61.5
RHODE ISLAND	59
WASHINGTON, D.C.	70
CHICAGO, Ill.	75
COOK COUNTY, Ill.	66
DADE COUNTY, FLA.	58
DENVER, COLO.	62
NEW HAVEN, CONN.	72
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	75.5
SUFFOLK COUNTY, N.Y.	69

PHOTO: GEORGE PALMER

James Coyne of Pennsylvania and Jim Dunn of Michigan.

"I'll take it," said Al Jackson, the political director for NCEC. "We didn't do enormously well, but we came out ahead." By his count enough supporters were elected to the new House to pass a freeze resolution by a margin of 25.

Both Jackson and Isaacs singled out Coyne's defeat in Pennsylvania, by about 2000 votes, as one for which they could arguably claim credit. Coyne had made himself a target by switching his vote at the last minute to "no" on the freeze resolution; and the freeze PACs supplied his opponent, Peter Kostmayer, with polling services, campaign consultants, precinct targeting, and get-out-the-vote volunteers, as well as money. Much the same argument could be made for Bob Carr's narrow victory over Dunn in Michigan.

Voters who were interviewed as they left the polls indicated the economy meant far more to them than the freeze. In a CBS News survey only five percent listed the freeze as the "most important reason" in their choice of a U.S. senator or representative, ranking it behind unemployment, Social Security, Reagan's policies, government spending, and inflation. "Even so, in a close race, that five percent can be very big," Isaacs said.

Stephen Wheeler, an arms control specialist for Friends of the Earth PAC, agreed that the freeze vote was hard to measure in congressional races. "We shouldn't overbill the impact of the freeze," he said. "But I do think it will play more of a part in U.S. politics over the next few years."

Wheeler expressed some concern about the Reagan Administration's anti-freeze effort. A 25-minute, anti-freeze film, produced by the American Security Council Foundation and featuring Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, was aired in 40 states, and five days before the election Weinberger declared point-blank in a press conference that the freeze should be voted down on the basis of patriotism. It appears that certain voters did respond. "I think the public can be turned around by counterattacks," Wheeler said, referring particularly to California where the freeze had a huge lead early in the campaign but won by only five percentage points.

Leaders of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, with national offices in St. Louis, were considerably more encouraged. The margin of victory in most states was substantial, they pointed out. In Massachusetts and New Jersey it was three-to-one. In North Dakota, where residents tend to be proud of the Minuteman silos on their home ground, the freeze passed by about three-to-two. The loss in Arizona was attributed to the state's basic conservatism and a late start

"A Mandate To Keep Up Pressure"

California freeze campaigners had to wait until midnight before claiming victory on election night. Proposition 12—the freeze referendum—won 52.5 percent of the more than seven million votes cast, but its victory was smaller than most polls predicted.

In President Reagan's home state, support for the freeze roughly paralleled the areas of the Democratic party's greatest strength. Proposition 12 won in San Francisco by an almost three-to-one margin and swept every urbanized county, with the exception of conservative Orange and San Diego. However, it lost by wide margins in rural areas where the campaign had little, if any presence.

Despite their narrow victory, freeze workers were elated. "A grass-roots effort forced Reagan to start talking in Geneva," said Northern California coordinator Andrea Jepson. "Now we have a mandate to keep up the pressure." All candidates for federal office were forced to take a clear stand on the freeze. California voters elected seven new Democrats—all freeze supporters—to the House of Representatives. Unemployment was the major issue in these races, but Proposition 12 workers had endorsed all seven candidates prior to the elections. Liberal challengers defeated incumbent Representatives Don Clausen and John Rousselot, both members of the "Doomsday Dozen" targeted by the Council for a Livable World's PeacePAC. Democrat Doug Bosco, who bested

Harold Willens, state freeze chief, gets the good word (with Margot Kidder).

Nick and Jo Seidita, initiators of Proposition 12, celebrate victory.

Clausen in a close race, 50 to 47 percent, strongly opposes the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and the neutron bomb.

Organized resistance to the freeze only surfaced in the month before the election. On television talk shows Reagan's friend Charlton Heston compared freeze supporters to the appeasers of Nazi Germany. Under a state law local television stations had to give Californians for a Strong America $150,000 worth of free television ads in response to the well-funded Proposition 12 campaign. Given another week of such tactics, many observers say, the initiative would probably have been defeated.

Victory, however, has immediately started activists planning their next move. Lobbying members of Congress will be one priority. "Conversion" groups in both the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas participated avidly in the campaign, and their work now takes on more importance in a state where as many as 200,000 jobs depend on nuclear weapons production. And then there's the upcoming presidential race. Sonoma County organizer Richard Zeichick voices a common sentiment: "We have to revive grass-roots participation in choosing a president. Since Ronald Reagan won't support a freeze, let's find someone who will."

—Michael Kazin

Michael Kazin is a San Francisco-based writer who has written for the The Nation *and* Mother Jones.

PHOTOS: STEFAN MERKEN

by the local freeze campaign.

Gene Carroll, the labor coordinator for the freeze campaign, suggested that even the California margin could be seen as a breakthrough because Jerry Brown, a freeze supporter, lost badly in his Senate race. "A lot of Republicans split their tickets and voted for the freeze," Carroll said.

Another factor in California was the prospect that up to 200,000 workers might lose their jobs in defense-related industries if a freeze was implemented. For the future, Carroll said, freeze activists need to develop a more specific plan for obtaining funds to retrain such workers for other jobs. Voters in several large cities (including Baltimore, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh) passed Jobs with Peace referendums calling for diversion of funds from military to civilian uses. However, a November ballot proposal to set up a public fund to convert the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons facility in Golden, Colorado, to peaceful uses did not succeed.

In fact, most peace activists seem in accord that they should now focus attention on Capitol Hill. The first priority almost certainly will be to seek approval for a freeze resolution. After that there will be lobbying against tactical weapons like the cruise and Pershing II missiles.

"If those first-strike weapons go forward, it will undermine the possibility of a true freeze," said David Cortright, executive director of SANE. "The cruise is designed to be undetectable. Once we move into this environment, all hope for a scientifically verifiable agreement will be reduced." To Cortright the deadline is 1983, when the cruise is scheduled for deployment in Europe.

Setting an agenda for congressional lobbying and an agenda for grass-roots work will be the major order of business when the Freeze National Committee meets in San Francisco, December 3-5. That strategy session is viewed as a prelude to a larger conference in February or March, likely to be held in Washington, D.C.

Overall, the grass-roots campaign, which first came to national notice in the town halls of New England in February, had a remarkably successful year. The freeze has been endorsed altogether by 307 city councils, 11 state legislatures, 61 county councils, 446 town meetings, 27 countywide and citywide votes, nine statewide votes, and a District of Columbia plebiscite. And approximately 2.5 million Americans have signed petitions in favor of a freeze.

"About 30 percent of the electorate voted on the freeze," said David Cortright, "and we had no major losses. We've never had such a broad mandate on the issue before."

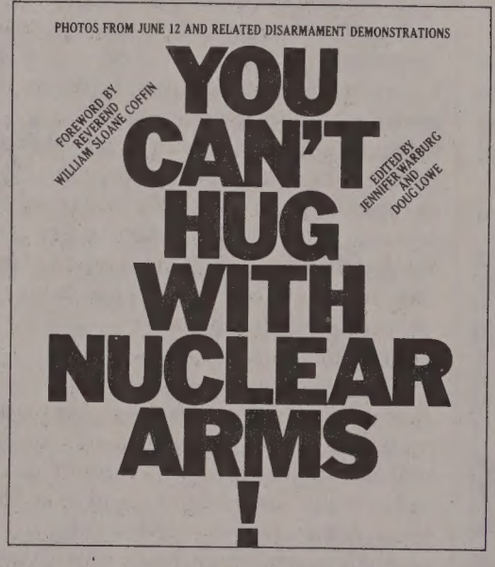
—Howard Kohn and Diana Sperrazza

Howard Kohn and Diana Sperrazza are Washington correspondents for the Center for Investigative Reporting.

MICHIGAN

Freeze Vote Chills Dunn

Reaganomics was undoubtedly the issue in Michigan's redrawn sixth congressional district, which includes Pontiac, a city with one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. But the freeze played a role in that election, where Democrat Bob Carr, former three-term congressman who was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voted out of office in 1980, defeated first-term incumbent Jim Dunn by 6300 votes.

"I think when Jim Dunn goes back and finds out why he lost in 1982, he'll rate his freeze vote as one of the errors he made," Carr said.

While Carr, a long-time critic of increased military spending, endorsed the freeze referendum on Michigan's ballot, Dunn had voted against the freeze in Congress. That vote earned him the distinction of being one of the anti-freeze Republicans who were targeted as vulnerable by the newly formed PeacePAC.

The sixth district, which stretches 60 miles from Pontiac to Lansing, has an odd mix of voters. Pontiac, a city of auto workers, is heavily Democratic, while the Lansing/East Lansing area hosts 40,000 Michigan State University students. Carr made the freeze an issue in the Lansing/East Lansing area, figuring—probably correctly—that the only issue in Pontiac was jobs.

In all his campaign literature Carr mentioned his support for the freeze, and he distributed a letter from the Council for a Livable World's PeacePAC asking Michigan State students to support him. In radio spots the Democratic Party urged voters—students, in particular—to register, using the freeze as one of the reasons why they should vote.

Ginnie Terzano, a senior at Michigan State, switched her registration from Detroit to East Lansing specifically so that she could vote for Bob Carr. She had never worked on a campaign before, but the freeze issue was important enough for her that she took a leave from school to work full-time on Carr's campaign. "We can vote at the ballot box for the freeze, but we need a lasting spokesperson," said Terzano, explaining why she chose to work on a congressional campaign, rather than on the nuclear freeze referendum—which won with 58 percent of the vote across the state. There were others like Terzano who decided to work on Carr's campaign solely because of his position on the freeze, and that support was critical for Carr, who lost his 1980 reelection bid, in part, because of a poorly organized campaign.

Carr won the election handily—52 to 48 percent—in a race that most observers thought would be decided by less than a percentage point. In fact, Carr had earlier said that 500 votes from freeze supporters who might usually vote Republican could swing the election. The freeze issue may have provided Carr with those 500 votes, but probably more importantly, the freeze got people like Ginnie Terzano involved in Carr's campaign.

—Alex Kotlowitz

Alex Kotlowitz is a freelance writer in Michigan.

Local Planner Takes On FEMA

Marilyn Braun is one emergency planner who will not prepare for nuclear war. Last December Braun, coordinator of the Emergency Management Assistance Agency in Greensboro, North Carolina, informed the federal government that Greensboro was taking down all its familiar black and yellow fallout signs. More recently, she has refused to participate in crisis relocation planning.

In taking these stands Braun, whose office is responsible for planning for all threats (weather, hazardous waste, radiation leaks, and energy shortages, as well as nuclear war) to the city of Greensboro and Guilford County, has challenged the Federal Emergency Management Agency, or FEMA, putting at risk $33,000—all the federal funds earmarked for emergency planning in the area.

Braun, 37, formerly an assistant to the Greensboro city manager, took office in 1978 expecting to concentrate primarily on energy issues. She assumed that there was already an effective local civil defense plan. But she found that fallout shelter space had not been designated correctly and that food set aside for consumption in the shelters had turned rancid.

With her assistant, Ed Deaton, Braun began a study on nuclear war and civil defense. "We concluded two things," Braun says. "There has never been a design that would predictably protect people from nuclear war, and we couldn't come up with an alternative design. I'm not embarrassed to say how hard we worked to find a plan that could work. However, after four years of work, it is our belief it cannot be done."

These findings led Braun, whose office receives one-third of its budget from the federal government, to notify FEMA in September 1981 that Greensboro and Guilford had rejected the notion of planning for a nuclear war. "FEMA said that unless we said we had a war plan and had updated it, we would not receive our federal funds," Braun recalls. "We said we did not have a plan we would recognize." Nevertheless, her office received its federal funds for fiscal year 1982.

Braun, who strongly supports the freeze (which the Greensboro City Council passed in September 1982), has been particularly critical of FEMA's crisis relocation planning, which calls for the evacuation of Guilford's 360,000 residents to six surrounding rural communities in the event of a nuclear war. "This policy assumes that people would evacuate in a docile and cooperative manner," Braun says. "Three out of the five population sections would have to wait up to 42 hours before they could leave. It also assumes that everyone could purchase a two-day supply of food. There are people in our country who can't afford food today. I can imagine what our grocery stores would look like."

Braun: Fighting an unworkable plan

When Braun's office filed its fiscal year 1983 budget this past September, it indicated that it had no nuclear war plan and no update. "We're waiting to see how FEMA is going to respond," she says. Her office—which has won three national awards for other emergency plans—is in violation of the funding requirement and could lose all its federal funds.

This confrontation with FEMA led Braun to form a broad-based committee of local residents to examine nuclear war planning. The committee, which includes clergymen and representatives from the Union of Concerned Scientists, the American Friends Service Committee, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Air Force and Western Electric, is now evaluating all information related to civil defense in Greensboro and Guilford.

Both John Witherspoon, Guilford County manager, and Thomas Osborne,

PHOTO: GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS.

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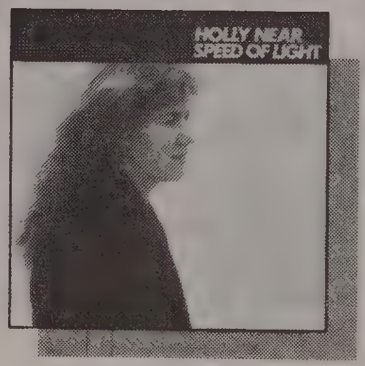

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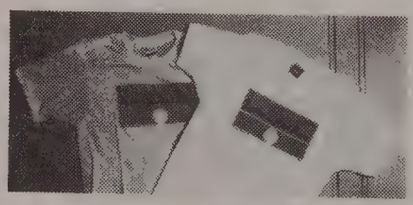

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Greensboro city manager, say that Braun has the backing of the community. "What she is taking is a very honest approach," says Osborne. "From an administrative and political standpoint, we back that up."

At FEMA, Jim Holton, director of public affairs, says that no other emergency planner has opposed FEMA "with that kind of public defiance." He acknowledges that between 30 and 40 cities and counties have voted not to plan for nuclear war, but that none of the other 3000 civil defense directors around the country have joined Braun. Holton notes that FEMA has not yet denied funds to any local government. But "that may not always be the case," he adds. As for Braun's budget request, he says, "I don't know what's going to happen." Holton says that his agency does not take Braun's criticisms seriously. "No one," he points out, "has come up with anything better than we have."

Braun agrees. "We don't think that there's a workable nuclear war plan in this country," she declares. The task of her office, in relation to nuclear war, she explains, is education. Under local government policy, Braun is not permitted to officially take a stand on nuclear disarmament. "But if someone in Greensboro or Guilford wants to hear about the effects of nuclear war, we're prepared to talk about it," she says. "They should know that if we receive the one-to-seven megaton detonation the Defense Department says we might get, that we have no way to plan for their safety. What they plan to do with that knowledge is up to them. The best of all possibilities is an informed public." **—David Corn**

CONNECTICUT

Trident Protesters Sentenced

On November 9, nine activists who carried out one of the boldest anti-nuclear protests of the year received sentences ranging from a fine of $1,386 to one year in jail. The group, known as the Trident Nein, had slipped undetected into the nation's largest military contracting plant last summer and caused $20,000 worth of damage to a Trident submarine.

The nine protesters—six men and three women, including two Catholic nuns—entered the General Dynamics's Electric Boat Division shipyard in Groton, Connecticut, where Tridents and other nuclear submarines are built, in the early morning hours of July 5. Four of the nine paddled in a canoe up to the U.S.S. *Florida*, an uncompleted Trident docked in the Thames River. They hoisted banners, spray painted the 560-foot submarine with the words "U.S.S. Auschwitz," poured blood down missile tubes, and hammered on hatch covers. The other five entered the yard by cutting through a chain link fence. They hammered and poured blood on uninstalled sonar equipment, which they have called "the eyes and ears of the Trident monster."

Electric Boat is the only shipyard equipped to build Tridents, which are a cornerstone of the U.S. nuclear triad. Each Trident carries 24 intercontinental missiles with up to 14 independent nuclear warheads apiece. The *Florida*, which is expected to be completed by the end of 1983, is the third Trident. The first, the U.S.S. *Ohio*, recently arrived at its base in Bangor, Washington, and was met by several thousand demonstrators and a protest flotilla of 25 boats.

One of the more startling aspects of the July 5 Trident Nein action was the lack of security at Electric Boat. The four protesters on board the *Florida* were arrested after about a half hour, but only after they had convinced an incredulous security guard that they were *not* Electric Boat workers. The other five remained undisturbed in the yard amid highly classified equipment for over three hours, singing, praying, and hammering. (Later they contended they had ready access to the *Florida*'s reactor.)

The security failure provoked an uproar. Several Navy officials said they were shocked and dismayed. Two congressional committees are now planning investigations. Electric Boat was taken to task by the Pentagon in 1978, when a former security guard complained about a lack of security. But at the time Electric Boat assured the government that improvements had been made.

The Nein—"nein" is German for *no*—are all members of the Atlantic Life Community, a Catholic activist network based along the Eastern seaboard. One of the nine, Sister Ann Montgomery of New York, was also a member of the Plowshares 8, who smashed missile nose cones at a Pennsylvania arms plant in September 1980. (Montgomery, who was sentenced to one and a half years in prison for the Plowshares action, is out on appeal in that case.) Several of the Plow-

shares 8, including Daniel Berrigan, were in the courtroom during the Trident trial.

Support for the Trident Nein action among area disarmament activists was not unanimous. One local leader, Harold Nash, co-chairperson of the southeastern Connecticut freeze committee, publicly called the action an act of vandalism. "We want to dissociate ourselves from that as much as possible," said Nash, who designed sonar equipment and torpedoes for the Navy until his retirement in 1975.

In court the Nein freely admitted their actions, which defendant James Cunningham—a 41-year-old grandfather and former criminal lawyer—called "disarmament one dent at a time." But they sought to convince the six-member jury that their action was both a moral imperative and sanctioned by international law. "At Nuremberg, people were prosecuted because they had *obeyed* the law," 24-year-old Vincent Kaye told the jury. "The parallel is simple," said defendant Tim Quinn of Hartford, a high school history teacher. "Aren't we the silent Germans if we let this continue?"

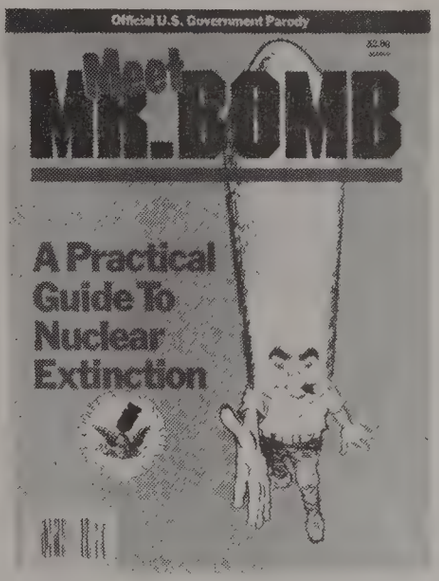
The Nein—eight represented themselves—also invoked a Connecticut "justification statute," under which it is permitted to break the law in order to prevent a greater harm. In addition, they sought to introduce expert testimony—from former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark on international law, from author Howard Morland on the workings of a nuclear warhead, and from a Hiroshima survivor. But Judge Seymour Hendel barred the testimony, saying, among other things, that Hiroshima was "too remote in time" to be relevant.

The protesters were, however, allowed considerable latitude in explaining their actions to the jury. In often emotional testimony, they described their various backgrounds of religious commitment, work with the poor, and peace organizing. Defendant George Veasey talked about killing innocent civilians as a soldier in Vietnam; he was sent home from the war after stepping on a mine.

All six members of the jury later said they were deeply moved by the Nein's testimony, and suggested that only Hendel's narrow instructions—barring the international law defense—forced them to vote for a conviction. After the trial all the jurors spoke with the Nein, wishing them well and expressing sympathy. "My eyes were really opened by this," said juror Fernand Boisvert. "I'm 22 years old. This is something that will mature me quickly." Another juror left the court wearing a Trident Nein button.

—Bruce Shapiro

Bruce Shapiro is a regular contributor to the New Haven Advocate.



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Round-Up

CALIFORNIA: For years, Molly Lawrence has regularly attended ceremonial functions at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, named after her deceased husband, nuclear physicist Ernest Lawrence, and one of two nuclear weapons research labs in the United States. But when invitations went out for a commemoration of the lab's thirtieth anniversary—held October 9 and 10—Molly Lawrence did not receive one. She is no longer welcome at Lawrence Livermore.

Last spring Lawrence, 72, wrote a letter to Ira Michael Heyman, the chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, which operates the nearby Livermore lab, saying she now feels "shame and remorse" that her family's name is associated with a facility that develops nuclear weapons. She urged the university to quit the nuclear weapons business.

Ernest Lawrence worked on the atomic bomb and supported the development of the hydrogen bomb. "He believed in deterrence," Lawrence says. "But we've gone way beyond that. Now it's insane." She says that not being invited to the thirtieth anniversary came as no surprise. "Last spring," she explains, "I said that if invited, I would not be there. It was sensible for them not to invite me."

PENNSYLVANIA: The Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage, a 7,500-mile walk for peace that began in Seattle, Washington, in April, has nearly completed its trek across the United States. On October 28, the 18 members of the interdenominational pilgrimage walked into Pittsburgh and were greeted by local peace activists. From there they headed to Washington, D.C., where they were expected to arrive on November 13.

Father Jack Morris, a Jesuit priest in Seattle, organized the march, which averages about 20 miles a day. It is a "spiritual journey to make people aware of the nuclear madness," says Charlene Collora, home base coordinator of the pilgrimage. Walking with Morris and the others is Father George Zabelka, who served as chaplain to the air force company that dropped the bomb at Hiroshima.

The pilgrimage will spend most of the winter in New York City and then leave for Ireland in February or March, according to Collora. The marchers expect to reach Bethlehem, in the occupied West Bank, by Christmas 1983.

COLORADO: A referendum calling for the conversion of the Rocky Flats plant, where plutonium triggers for hydrogen bombs are produced, was rejected by the voters of Colorado, 64 to 36 percent, on November 2. The ballot measure called for the governor to establish a committee that would "promote, facilitate and cause the cessation of radioactive plutonium processing in Colorado and the conversion of related jobs and facilities to other activities." This committee was to be financed by a voluntary check-off on the Colorado income tax.

"This was a unique referendum," says Paul MacLardy, state coordinator of the Rocky Flats Initiative Campaign. "It was the first of its kind in the country, a new approach for people to deal with nuclear and military facilities within their own communities."

The state cannot close Rocky Flats, which is owned by the Department of Energy and operated by Rockwell International, MacLardy notes. "The overall message of the referendum," he says, "was to tell Congress that the people of Colorado should have a say in what happens in their own backyard."

WASHINGTON, D.C.: For the past four years, the Sojourners Peace Ministry has held protests at the Air Force Association's National Convention and Aerospace Development Briefings and Displays, held annually in Washington, D.C., and known locally as the "Arms Bazaar." What was most significant about this year's protest, says Jim Rice of Sojourners, was "the coming together of Sojourners and the Council of Churches of Greater Washington," which represents over 500 churches of all denominations. "This is the first time we've had real active black leadership," Rice says.

On the opening day of the convention, which each year displays the newest in nuclear and conventional military hardware, Sojourners and the Council of Churches staged a "Peace and Justice" revival outside the Sheraton-Washington Hotel, the site of the bazaar. About 1000 attended, according to Rice. Over the next four days, demonstrators leafletted, picketed, and held vigils at the convention, which included an exhibit displaying different sections of the MX missile.

NEW YORK: "Anyone concerned about the environment—about life on earth—cannot remain aloof from the growing debate over nuclear weapons," Russell Peterson, president of the National Audubon Society told 800 environmentalists and disarmament activists who had gathered for the First Biennial Conference On the Fate of the Earth. Throughout the conference, held at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine from October 19 to 21, speakers and participants emphasized the link between the environmental and anti-nuclear movements. "I am pleased to see environmental organizations moving into this field, which they once thought was not appropriate for them," said David Brower, president of the conference and chairman of Friends of the Earth, which organized the event. The conference featured speeches by Nobel Prize winners George Wald and Linus Pauling, and Representative Ron Dellums, Democrat of California, as well as a variety of working sessions. Endorsing organizations included the Sierra Club, SANE, and Educators for Social Responsibility.

NATIONAL: Students and faculty members on close to 500 campuses across the country participated in the November 11 national teach-in on preventing nuclear war, organized by the Union of Concerned Scientists, or UCS. The convocations—sponsored by the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, the Physicians for Social Responsibility, and United Campuses To Prevent Nuclear War—focused on possible solutions to the arms race, particularly the freeze and the U.S. adoption of a no-first-use-of-nuclear weapons policy.

The idea for the national teach-in came from Henry Kendall, professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the UCS. "The time has come to stop talking about the *problem*," he says. "It's time to start talking about realistic *solutions*."

The day was marked by a variety of activities. At the University of Kansas in Lawrence, faculty members who fought in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam presented their views on alternatives to the arms race. One convocation, held for the entire San Francisco area, featured presentations by an array of arms control specialists, environmentalists, and historians. And at Virginia Commonwealth in Richmond, a rope the length of a Trident submarine was stretched across the campus, next to a banner portraying the missiles carried by such a submarine.

"We have always felt that this issue needs examination on campuses," says Lois Traub, coordinator of public information for UCS. This year's teach-in was largely modeled on last year's, which included activities on 150 campuses. □

ATOMIC VETS

Military observers in Yucca Flats, Nevada, March 23, 1955, seconds after an atomic bomb is detonated.

"Guinea Pigs" Fight Cover-Up

More than 50 former U.S. servicemen who participated in atmospheric nuclear tests in the 1940s and 1950s, gathered in Arlington, Virginia recently to trade medical stories, argue about the nuclear freeze, and assess their current legal status. Once, these men carried America's banner onto the battlefields of the Cold War, vaporizing imaginary enemy troops with actual atomic bombs. Now, in an ironic twist that some of them still find difficult to reconcile, the U.S. government has become their enemy.

An estimated 250,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines took part in atmospheric nuclear tests in Nevada and the South Pacific between 1945 and 1963, often marching into highly radioactive zones to prove that U.S. troops were willing and able to fight a nuclear war. Thousands of these veterans now claim they are sick and dying as a result of their exposure to atomic fallout. The government insists there is no connection.

In the four years since the founding of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, or NAAV, dozens of bills have been introduced in Congress, investigations have been launched by federal agencies, and scores of lawsuits have been filed in courts around the country. Yet little has actually come of the effort by these men to secure recognition of their plight. The proposed legislation has been bottled up in committee, the lawsuits are in limbo, and the investigative reports continue to pile up on bureaucrats' desks. As E. Cooper Brown, the group's general counsel, puts it, "We are in danger of becoming an organization of widows and orphans instead of veterans."

At the convention in Arlington in mid-September, veterans from 21 states and all points on the political and economic spectrum discovered they had more in common than their shared experiences. After a heated debate they voted to endorse the call for a mutually verifiable, bilateral freeze on the production and testing of nuclear weapons. The vote marked a dramatic turning point for the organization. Having risked their lives for their government, many members were reluctant to support a measure they saw as defeatist—or, worse—treasonous. But to the majority the freeze resolution represented an undeniable reality: despite the rhetoric of nuclear war planners, the atomic veterans know from firsthand experience that in a nuclear war there will be no winners, only losers. And the losers are all around.

One of them is John Smitherman, president of the NAAV, a double amputee afflicted with a rare disorder known as acute lymphadema. The day after the convention, Smitherman led a brigade of atomic veterans in a lobbying assault on Capitol Hill. Among the congressmen he visited was Senator Alan Simpson, Republican of Wyoming and chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee. It didn't take long for Simpson to agree to hold hearings early next year on the question of whether significant information had been deliberately withheld from the veterans.

"John," the senator said when Smitherman removed a towel draped over his left arm, "you could move a stone."

Smitherman's left arm is a puffy mass that looks like the creation of a Hollywood special-effects wizard. Along its length distended veins run in bas-relief. At its end shapeless digits curve downward, permanently clenched. Because his lymph system is unable to purge his body of biochemical wastes, toxic fluids

PHOTO: WIDE WORLD

accumulate in his extremities. He has already lost both his legs, which were amputated when they swelled to five times their normal size. Now, the wastes collect in his left arm.

Half a dozen times Smitherman has filed claims with the Veterans Administration, and half a dozen times his claims have been denied. Smitherman observed two atom bomb tests in the South Pacific in 1946, but the government says his exposure to radiation is unrelated to his illness. And VA doctors recommend only one course of treatment for his ever-swelling arm—cut it off.

In desperation Smitherman traveled this summer to the People's Atomic Hospital in Hiroshima for medical help. "The Japanese treated me real well," he says in a quiet Southern drawl. "I got the same treatment as the *hibakusha* get—you know, the survivors of the atom bombings. They concluded that the lymphadema was definitely radiation-related." But in spite of the Japanese wealth of knowledge about radiation injuries, the only treatment doctors could suggest was the predictable one: amputate the arm.

Understandably, Smitherman resists the advice of doctors. He has only one good arm and hand now. If his left arm is amputated, and the disease follows the pattern it always has, his only remaining limb would be the next to go. But as long as he can get around—he steers a motorized wheelchair with a small joystick near his right hand—he plans to use his energies on behalf of the atomic veterans.

The hearings called by Senator Simpson represent a small victory for the NAAV, which has been chipping away at what it believes is a massive government coverup. Under the leadership of Wanda Kelly, the widow of an atomic veteran from Burlington, Iowa, the organization has grown in the past four years from a dream envisioned by a dying man to a national movement of 8,000 members.

Orville Kelly, Wanda's husband and the founder of NAAV, died of cancer in 1980 at the age of 49. He had witnessed 21 atom bomb tests at Eniwetok atoll and was convinced the blasts had dealt him a death sentence. In the years before he succumbed to cancer, Kelly fought vainly to win compensation from the Veterans Administration for what he insisted were military-related injuries.

In part because of Kelly's intensive research and the widespread attention he received in the media, a number of investigations were launched by federal agencies and Congress. The Defense Nuclear Agency concluded that more than 90 percent of the servicemen exposed to radiation during atomic tests received a dose of less than one rad, and only a handful received more than five rads, the allowable occupational exposure for nuclear workers. Therefore, the DNA insisted, the maladies of atomic veterans could not possibly be related to radiation exposure.

But there were other opinions. In 1980 a congressional subcommittee charged that the federal government had deliberately concealed the dangers of radiation from people living near the Nevada test site in the 1950s and 1960s. In a report entitled "The Forgotten Guinea Pigs," a House Interstate and Foreign Commerce subcommittee concluded that the Atomic Energy Commission was more concerned with developing nuclear weapons than with protecting the public from injury. "All evidence suggesting that radiation was having harmful effects," the report noted, "was not only disregarded, but actually suppressed."

The committee recommended "prompt and adequate compensation" for civilian victims of the tests, but made no mention of the soldiers involved. Other evidence subsequently revealed that film badges in use during atom bomb tests were sadly inadequate, that monitoring was sometimes not even done, and that servicemen were often ordered to march dangerously close to ground zero. Yet, despite this mounting evidence, Kelly and other atomic veterans were stymied.

The main obstacle is a Supreme Court decision known as the Feres Doctrine, under which servicemen and their survivors are prohibited from suing the government on grounds of negligence for injuries sustained while in the armed forces. NAAV's legal efforts to circumvent the Feres Doctrine have met with mixed success. One lawsuit, challenging the guidelines used by the VA in determining claims, resulted in a new set of guidelines, but those, too, were considered inadequate by the organization.

Smitherman could "move a stone"

NAAV Founder, Orville Kelly

As for the VA, it has never conceded a causal relationship between radiation exposure and cancer. Last year Congress passed a bill, over the Pentagon's objections, ordering the VA to offer priority treatment to atomic veterans. But even this small victory has been pyrrhic. The VA hospitals are not properly equipped or staffed to provide the necessary care and treatment for some radiation-related diseases. And no provision is made for caring for the genetically defective offspring of these men.

One clear benefit of the legislation, however, was that it laid out the Pentagon's position for all to see. While the House was considering action on the bill late last year, William Howard Taft IV, the Defense Department general counsel, sent an urgent and private letter to Representative G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, chairman of the House Committee on Veterans Affairs.

The bill, wrote Taft, "creates the unmistakable impression that exposure to low-level ionizing radiation is a significant health hazard when available scientific and medical evidence does not support that contention. This mistaken impression has the potential to be seriously damaging to every aspect of the Department of Defense's nuclear weapons and nuclear propulsion programs. The legislation could adversely affect our relations with our European allies, impact upon the civilian nuclear power industry, and raise questions regarding the use of radioactive substances in medical diagnosis and treatment."

Taft's message was clear. The veterans themselves are inconsequential, their deaths are meaningless, and their

PHOTOS: THE HAWK EYE (TOP); HOWARD ROSENBERG

sacrifices only incidental. What was, and is, important to the Pentagon is maintaining the illusion that there is such a thing as a safe level of radiation exposure—an illusion that, if made believable enough, will help convince people that a nuclear war can be fought and won.

—Howard Rosenberg

Howard Rosenberg, Washington correspondent of the Center for Investigative Reporting, is the author of Atomic Soldiers.

DOWNWINDERS

Billions At Stake In Fallout Trial

On a mild spring day in 1953 JoAnn Workman climbed to the top of a mountain near Cedar City, Utah and sat down to watch an atomic bomb blast. Twenty-nine years later she sat in a wheelchair in a federal courtroom in Salt Lake City and pulled off her red wig, revealing to the judge and shocked spectators the baldness she believes was caused by radioactive fallout from that blast.

Arthur Bruhn, the geology professor who took JoAnn Workman on that May 19 field trip nearly three decades ago, never got a chance to testify about how that atomic test may have affected him. Bruhn died of cancer in 1964. His widow believes that he was an atomic victim, too.

Since September 14 the story of what happened during 11 years of above-ground nuclear weapons testing in Nevada has been painstakingly recorded in U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City, where hundreds of "downwinders" (as they are often called) are suing the federal government. Witnesses from three states have described how they would rise before dawn to watch the brilliant flash of test bombs that exploded at the Atomic Energy Commission's outdoor laboratory in the southern Nevada desert between 1951 and 1962. They testified about "dirty pink" radioactive clouds that drifted over their homes and ranch land, of unexplained skin burns that would blister and never heal, and of not being warned to take cover as the fallout descended. They also told of the horrors of cancer, and how it slowly killed their sons and daughters and spouses.

The downwinders trial is the second major fallout-related case to be heard in Salt Lake City this year. In August a federal district judge in Salt Lake City ordered a new trial in a case involving ranchers in southern Utah who contend that fallout from the testing program killed about 4000 of their sheep in 1953. Judge A. Sherman Christensen accused the government of deliberately concealing evidence and putting pressure on witnesses in a 1956 lawsuit, which ended with a rejection of the ranchers' claims. Stewart L. Udall, former U.S. Secretary of Interior and a co-counsel for the plaintiffs in the downwinders trial, said that the judge's ruling has ramifications for his clients because it underscored the "cover-up activities which permeated the Nevada tests."

It was Vonda McKinney who first investigated the possibility of suing the government for endangering human life. After her husband died of leukemia in 1962 McKinney kept track of how many of her Fredonia, Arizona, neighbors succumbed to the rare blood disease. By 1965 four of the town's 643 residents had died of leukemia—about 20 times the expected statistical rate.

McKinney contacted Tucson lawyer Dale Haralson in 1977. Now there are 1192 plaintiffs. The current trial is considering 24 "representative" claims from this group.

It took attorneys for the plaintiffs six weeks to present their case to U.S. District Judge Bruce S. Jenkins, who is presiding without a jury in accordance with federal tort claims rules. The plaintiffs must prove, with a preponderance of evidence, that the government failed to conform to a duty recognized by law and negligently allowed the spread of fallout that allegedly caused the 375 cancers diagnosed within the group of 1192 plaintiffs. More than 80 witnesses testified for the plaintiffs. Now it is the federal government's turn.

The two sides agree on very little. There is no argument that the Nevada Proving Ground was approved as a test site by President Harry S. Truman in 1950 and that above-ground testing was conducted there until 1962. (At that time a test ban treaty with the Soviet Union moved the experiments underground.) The two sides also agree the site was selected for its remoteness and that detonations were often postponed due to unfavorable wind and weather conditions that could carry the fallout over populated areas. The government does not deny that occasionally miscalculations occurred, and that, despite precautions, some fallout from atomic tests was deposited in parts of southern Nevada, southwestern Utah, and northern Arizona.

The three major issues contested at the trial are: How *much* radioactive fallout were the plaintiffs subjected to? What was its effect? Was the government negligent in its use of the test site, in monitoring off-site radiation, and protecting downwind residents?

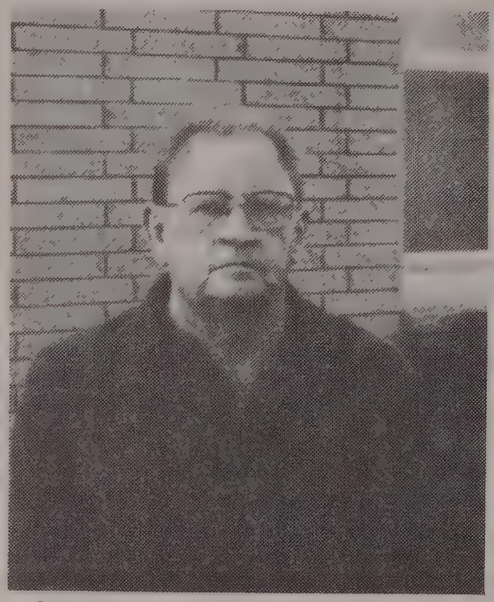
The Radiation Question: The government's data, presented at the trial, shows the highest fallout reading was taken in St. George, Utah, on May 19, 1953, the day after the dirty "Harry" shot. But even that reading, a government expert said, was within the AEC safety standards for civilians. Among the plaintiffs' expert witnesses was a biophysicist, Arthur Tamplin of Annondale, Virginia, who described the government's data on off-site radiation levels as "just a little bit better than nothing."

Unable to prove beyond question that the government's data was wrong or incomplete, the plaintiffs zeroed in on the alleged effects of the fallout and the doses of radiation necessary to produce them. This led to a good deal of conflicting scientific testimony on the possible danger of low-level radiation.

The Cause-and-Effect Question: One study, introduced by University of Utah researcher Joseph L. Lyon, found a

Newsman observes A-bomb test near Frenchman's Flat, Nevada, November 28, 1951.

PHOTO: WIDE WORLD



Isaac Nelson, plaintiff, Cedar City, Utah

higher than normal number of cases of leukemia among children in southern Utah. Lyon said that radiation from fallout was the "most likely cause" of the unexpected increase. The government produced a researcher from fallout-free eastern Oregon who said leukemia death rates there had shown the same increase found by Lyon in Utah.

Dr. Carl J. Johnson, a University of Colorado medical professor, found a higher than expected number of cancers among Mormons living in the fallout zone compared to Mormons throughout the state. Johnson said there was a "reasonable probability" that fallout caused the cancers of the 24 plaintiffs. The government questioned the methodology of this and other studies introduced by the plaintiffs. And it presented witnesses who testified about the difficulty of documenting a causal link between radiation and any particular cancer. Harold Beck, a Department of Energy physicist, testified that fallout levels in northern Utah were higher than in southern Utah during the testing, although no increase in cancer rates has been reported in the north.

Residents of southern Utah, however, may have absorbed significant levels of radiation in an indirect way. Scientists now agree that radioactive iodine produced by atomic blasts can find its way into the food chain when fallout dusts pastures and plants eaten by animals. Dr. Harold Knapp, a former member of the AEC's fallout studies branch, said at the trial that in this way, sheep in Utah received up to 35,000-rad doses to their thyroids and 3,000 to 12,000 rads to their gastrointestinal tracts. (A rad measures the amount of radiation absorbed by body tissues. The government's own safety limit for exposure to humans at that time was 3.9 rads every 13 weeks.) Milk from cows in the area contained high levels of radioactive iodine. When humans drank the milk the radioactive iodine tended to concentrate in the thyroid gland, posing a health danger, especially to children.

The Negligence Question: The government contended at the trial that in the 1950s little was known about the effects of radioactive iodine. Government witnesses asserted that the testing program was conducted in a "reasonable" manner, consistent with protecting the health of citizens. The plaintiffs presented evidence to the contrary. On the milk-thyroid issue, for example: William Johnson, an off-site radiological safety officer in the 1950s, testified on October 26 that a study he conducted of radiation contamination of milk was deliberately limited to avoid frightening residents of St. George.

The government discounted any implications of wrongdoing. In the middle of the government's defense, however, Richard S. Schweiker, U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services, speaking just across town, admitted that atomic bomb tests probably caused human cancers and that the government "made some very bad mistakes" in carrying out the tests.

"My position is—where there is smoke there is fire," Schweiker said on October 25, during a campaign appearance in Salt Lake City for Senator Orrin G. Hatch. Schweiker said studies indicated a fallout-cancer link and conceded that his comments conflicted with the position of government lawyers at the trial. He added that if fallout is linked to cases of cancer, the government would bear responsibility for compensating the victims.

Government attorneys believe that—evidence aside—the claims are barred by the statute of limitations, and by government immunity to lawsuits. Judge Jenkins has denied three motions to dismiss the claims on those and other grounds.

The plaintiffs, as a group, are reportedly asking for tens of millions of dollars. The government has rejected a settlement proposed by the plaintiffs. Efforts in Congress to pass a bill providing for out-of-court compensation to the downwinders came up empty earlier this year. If the government loses its gamble the defeat could be a very costly one. A victory for these 24 plaintiffs will certainly augur well for the more than 1100 others. "If we win," Stewart Udall says, "the chances are good that the government will settle out of court on the others. If we lose, the other cases have little chance."

A victory for the downwinders may set a precedent, as well, for a far greater number of alleged victims of atomic testing—the 250,000 soldiers who witnessed the blasts, and people who lived in other areas (as far away as New York State, according to trial testimony) where fallout fell in the 1950s.

For this reason it is no exaggeration to say that billions of dollars may be hanging on the results of the Utah trial.

—Anne Wilson

Anne Wilson is a reporter for the Salt Lake Tribune.

ATOMIC WORKERS

Widow Sues In Rocky Flats Case

Don Gabel was a plutonium worker at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant in Golden, Colorado, for nine years before he died at the age of 31 of a brain tumor. Now his widow, Kae Gabel, charges that Gabel's death was caused by exposure to unsafe levels of radioactivity at the plant. While at Rocky Flats, Gabel spent much of his day with his head just six inches from a ventilation pipe that ran to a furnace containing plutonium.

Kae Gabel's attorney has found the worker's compensation case difficult to conduct, because Rockwell International, which manages the federally owned plant, and Dow Chemical, its former operator, have failed to produce key pieces of evidence, including the dead man's brain. When Gabel died in September 1980, his brain was removed from his body at the direction of the government, and transported for tests to the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in New Mexico, owned by the U.S. Department of Energy, which also owns Rocky Flats. In a letter to state Hearing Officer H. Conway Gandy, Bruce DeBoskey, Gabel's attorney, claims that Rockwell and Dow subsequently "were unable to even locate the brain or any test results for several months." After numerous inquiries from DeBoskey, Rockwell and Dow informed him that the tests they conducted had destroyed most of the brain tissue. Furthermore, DeBoskey charges that Rockwell and Dow have failed to perform tests to determine the amount of radioactivity Gabel's brain received, even though both agreed to conduct these tests.

DeBoskey, in his letter to Gandy, also

PHOTO: CEDAR CITY SPECTRUM

charges that after Gabel initiated the suit and after Rockwell and Dow failed to produce records showing how much radioactivity was emitted from the pipe near which Gabel worked, the pipe "was secretly dismantled and removed from Rocky Flats."

James Elliot, Jr., one of the attorneys for Rockwell and Dow, refuses to respond to DeBoskey's charge that his clients engaged in a "pattern of destruction or concealment of material evidence." He also declines to comment on the claim that Gabel's death was caused by radioactivity he encountered on the job. "I am not going to comment on a case that's in litigation," says Elliot. However, papers filed in response to DeBoskey's charges deny that Rockwell and Dow refused to cooperate by withholding evidence. Furthermore, Rocky Flats officials have said that there is not enough scientific evidence to link cancer to radiation exposure.

Gabel's own account of the misfortune he met at Rocky Flats is found in his testimony on June 27, 1980 at a worker's compensation hearing. He had already had the brain tumor removed, along with part of his skull. Doctors predicted that he would not live long, and his testimony was recorded for the lawsuit that would follow.

On the stand he did not wear the toupee and hat that normally covered the spot where surgeons had cut away part of his skull. Speaking in a voice slowed and thickened by medication, Gabel said he began working at Rocky Flats in 1970 as a janitor but soon accepted a higher-paying job reprocessing plutonium for use as "triggers" to detonate nuclear bombs. Gabel explained that his job was to dissolve plutonium in acid and make it into six-inch plutonium buttons. To perform his job he had to stand for 40 percent of his work day with his head six inches from the ventilation pipe that led to the furnace containing plutonium. A supervisor would periodically measure radiation emitted from the pipe with a monitoring machine. Gabel testified that the monitor was "pegged" by the radioactivity—meaning it was too high to measure.

When he asked about the safety of working near the pipe, Gabel said, he was told by a plant official it was safe, "So long as you don't get your body close to it."

In 1978, after eight years on the job, Gabel began to get frequent headaches and a tingling sensation in his left side. On March 29, 1979 Gabel had a seizure, and when he was rushed to the hospital doctors found and removed a brain tumor. Gabel never returned to his job at Rocky Flats and died 18 months later.

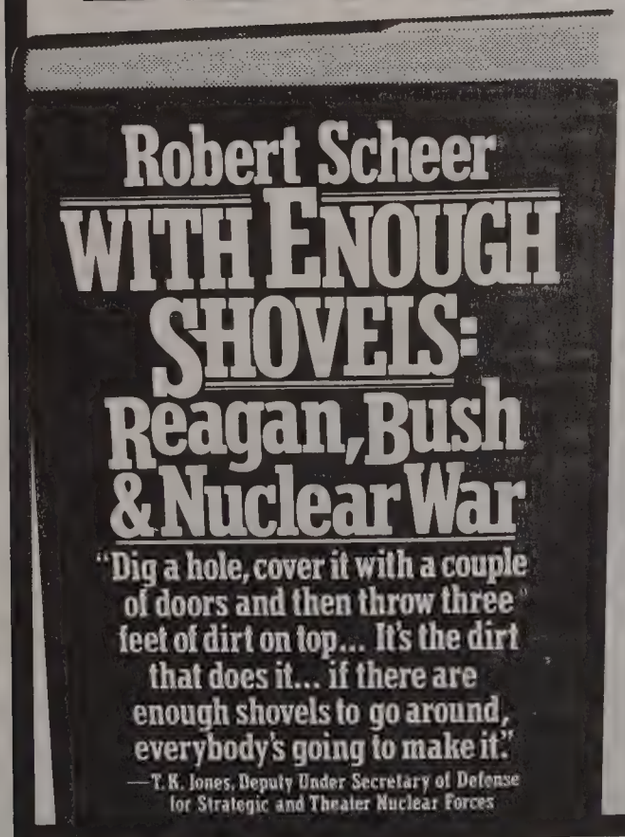
"He went through classes to learn how to work with plutonium and learn safety procedures," Kae Gabel says. "They made it sound so normal that I don't think it made a real impression on him. They said, 'you follow these safety procedures and nothing can happen to you.' "

Kae Gabel says she never considered suing the operators of Rocky Flats until shortly before her husband died. Rockwell informed the couple by letter they owed the company $2,032 for a period when Gabel received both sick leave and social security benefits. This so infuriated Kae that she contacted a lawyer who filed the worker's compensation suit, the only legal recourse she has.

The case is still pending, and could go on for years. Even if Kae Gabel wins the case, it probably will not bring her any money. She is now receiving social security benefits from her husband's death and, under state law, she cannot also receive worker's compensation. Gabel, who lives in Arvada, near the Rocky Flats plant, says she is seeking judgment against Rockwell and Dow on moral grounds. **—Phil Reed**

Phil Reed, a former reporter for the Rocky Mountain News, *is now a freelance writer in Long Beach, California.*

"BLOCKBUSTER"


Robert Scheer
WITH ENOUGH SHOVELS:
Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War
"Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top... It's the dirt that does it... if there are enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it."
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RANDOM HOUSE

GEORGE KENNAN

Avoiding the "Probable" War

George Kennan, a former ambassador to Moscow, Pulitzer Prize winner, and diplomatic historian at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, is one of the most remarkable public servants America has produced in this century. He has distinguished himself with the forthright clarity of his views, which have persistently been ahead of their time.

Kennan came into prominence in the anti-nuclear weapons movement in the spring of 1981 when he received the Einstein Peace Prize. He said at the time that only "a bold and sweeping departure" from present military and political trends could go to the heart of the problem of the build-up of nuclear arsenals. He called for an immediate 50 percent across-the-board cut in the strategic arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union. Kennan's latest book is The Nuclear Delusion *(Pantheon, $13.95).*

The following interview was conducted by Yorick Blumenfeld, who has written extensively on nuclear issues. It is extracted from many hours of conversation which have been condensed into George Kennan: A Critical Voice, *an hour-long documentary produced for PBS, and scheduled to be shown nationally in January. (It was shown on WNET in New York in October.) Most of the interview published here is from material not included in the program.*

How do you now feel about the state of Soviet-American relations?

I do think that we are on a collision course at this time with the Soviet Union.

I believe that because I don't see in the statements and positions of our own government any hope or likelihood of any development other than a military one. The slogan of the moment seems to be simply to build up, to continue to build up, military strength indefinitely and to hope to get from them some sort of capitulation, or perhaps to achieve the disintegration of the Soviet government.

You don't feel, then, that the proposed American build-up could redress or tilt the balance of power?

I don't know of any theory concerning action and interaction in the field of weaponry which has been more blown, which has been more disproven by experience, in the last decades than the theory that you can only get disarmament if you arm so greatly that the other fellow becomes afraid of you and says, "Oh dear, now I must make an agreement because he's arming so greatly." It works, of course, exactly the other way, and this has happened time after time after time.

Of course, there are those who believe this is a conflict to the death and that it has to end with the utter demise of one system of government or the other. I do not see it that way. I think that reflects a zero-sum psychology.

How do you feel about such public comparisons of Soviet and American strength?

I deplore it. One hundred years ago it would have been regarded as highly offensive and unacceptable to talk about military plans and to mention another country by name as the target against which those plans were to be implemented. Now this is being done every day. It represents a deterioration of the whole quality of discussion of international relations.

In the course of this past year there have been literally hundreds of items in the American press, items originating from responsible officials of the government, sometimes even highly placed officials of the armed services, in which there have been speculations of what the Soviets could do to us in a war and what we could do to them and what we would propose to do to them when a war comes. Every one of these discussions conveys in a subtle way the implication that we view this war as not only probable, but as the overriding prospect of our relations with the Soviet Union.

Repeatedly I have heard the question asked at meetings: "But how can you trust the Russians?" How would you respond to this?

This is a meaningless question, because there is no such thing as abstract trust. You can trust somebody for something, trust them to do something, but you can't just trust them in the abstract. I think you can trust the Soviet government to follow what they think are their own interests as they see them.

I have always maintained that the Soviet government will, normally, live up to its undertakings provided that these are absolutely specific, don't go into questions of motive or use highfallutin terms like "peace-loving" or "democratic." If the agreements merely say, "This is what you will do and this is when you will do it, and this is what we will do and when we will do it," and if then you show a serious interest in the observance of these agreements, the Soviet government, in my experience, will do likewise.

But aren't our suspicions of this regime in the Kremlin justified?

I recently had occasion to say that cynicism, too, can be exaggerated. We should remember, after all, that Brezhnev has repeatedly and publicly declared that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons and they will never use them against a country which does not have them. But this has been greeted with the usual total cynicism in Western circles. I think that is quite wrong.

We cannot be such perfectionists that we say, "Well, we cannot be absolutely sure that they believe what they say, therefore we can't pay any attention to it." You can't live that way. There is always an element of insecurity in life. And the greatest conceivable insecurity comes from the quest for total security.

Do you believe there has been a change of outlook on the part of the Kremlin gerontocracy?

Well, the statements that have been forthcoming both publicly and privately from Moscow within the last year or so convince me that there has been a firm and very serious decision there that there is no way in which their vast nuclear armory possibly could be used to their advantage.

It is important to recognize that the Russians have committed themselves to the renunciation of first use. They have done it unilaterally. They have done it publicly. They have done it with every evidence of meaning it. We are the ones who have dragged our feet.

Hasn't their commitment to secrecy been a big obstacle in the way of coming to agreement with them?

Yes. One of the most unfortunate aspects of their passion for secrecy is that it permits a very serious overestimation of their military capabilities. They don't like the tensions to which these exagger-

ated impressions of their strength give rise. On the other hand, they prefer to have other people believe they are very strong.

But hasn't this backfired for the Russians?

This whole great discussion of rearmament and further armament in the U.S. goes back to the impressions we have had of Soviet strength. We can't be quite sure, because of their secrecy, how correct our impressions really are. If you try to make an estimate of what the Russians have in a certain category of weaponry, you come up with a minimum and a maximum estimate. And there's a good distance between them. Well, then, this information is revealed, most often leaked, to the press and the public—and usually it is the maximum estimate which is leaked.

Why is that?

Partly, this is for reasons of prudence on the part of the respective intelligence services, who don't want to get caught underestimating Soviet strength. Therefore they use the larger figure. But partly, I think, they are always having difficulty getting as much money as they want, and they think that the more frightening you can make the Soviet defense establishment appear, the better chance you'll have of getting appropriations.

Don't you believe that the technological arms race has an impetus of its own?

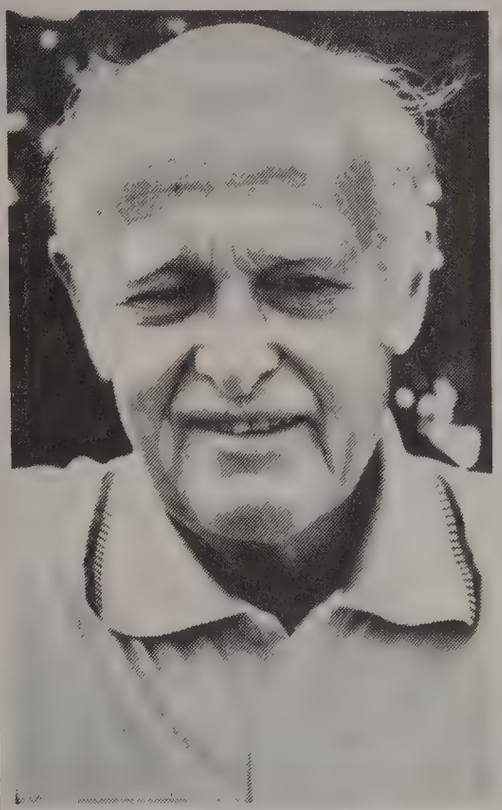
One of the things that people are going to have to understand is that any weapons race between great military powers begins to take on a momentum of its own which is entirely detached from the original political differences that may have divided them. So they don't need to have any specific issues about which they disagree; the mere fact that both are arming becomes in itself the overriding issue of their relationship and tends to take over.

The tremendous momentum of military competition is not just true today. It was true a hundred years ago. It played a part in the origins of World War I. There were few real issues between Russia and Germany before the First World War, yet these two powers were carried into disastrous conflict, disastrous for both of them, simply by this sort of momentum.

Do you believe the negotiations now going on in Geneva could put a stop to this arms race?

The pattern of negotiations of START, like those of SALT I and SALT II, are not a way out of the nuclear weapons race; they are part of it.

I do not believe we can afford to spend six or seven years negotiating a new agreement, as has been suggested by this administration's timetable. The nuclear balance as it exists today is unstable, precarious. It is in great danger of being undermined by new technological developments, such as the cruise missiles.



Kennan: A 10 Percent Solution

What do you think is the best approach to halt the nuclear arms race?

I believe there are a number of good ideas in the wind. I prefer a series of reciprocal, unilateral actions which don't commit anybody, which don't require ratification by a legislative body. I would like to see, first of all, the abandonment of the option of first use. Then, of course, a freeze is better than an unlimited building up, but it's not enough. I have personally suggested an immediate 50 percent cut, without any more haggling, in long-range strategic weapons. Even that would not be enough.

What size cuts are you suggesting?

I have felt for many years that the present levels were far beyond anything which could be explained by any rational motives of national defense. I should think that something between 10 and 20 per cent of the present arsenals would suffice for deterrence.

You don't seem highly enthusiastic about a "freeze."

I see the freeze merely as meaning that we must stop at the present levels of armament. I should think that it would be easier, if a freeze existed, to then negotiate about the starting point for deep cuts. If there is no freeze, you're always going to have the argument about where it is that you are starting from. So from that point of view, I'm all for it.

What is your reaction to the plans for the build-up of civil defense in the U.S.?

I think it would be perpetrating an indefensible deceit upon the American people to allow them to think that there was any way, if these nuclear warheads started falling, they could be saved, or anything worth saving could be saved in this country.

But haven't the Russians built up their civil defense programs?

There's been a lot of discussion recently that the Russians must be planning to fight a nuclear war because they've installed such a tremendous and effective civil defense system. I think this is mostly nonsense. That the Russians have such a system on paper, I don't doubt. They have such plans for the same sort of reasons, I suppose, that we do. But if you have a nuclear war, these shelters are not going to mean a thing. I know of nobody who has lived in Russia who has ever seen any evidence that this civil defense system is more than a pretense.

Do you feel threatened by the prospects of nuclear proliferation?

I think time is running out on us. We must simply do something to remove this danger from all the peoples of the northern hemisphere. Until we Americans rid ourselves of the option of first use, we are never going to be able to prevent proliferation into the hands of others, many of whom may be far less responsible and more likely to use nuclear weapons for frivolous purposes.

What advice do you have for those who want to lessen the dangers of nuclear war? What can they do?

I think they can participate, of course, in peaceful demonstrations. But they can also study, learn how to argue, learn why they believe what they believe, not just emotionally, but intellectually, and than they can try to increase their influence as citizens in public affairs.

The public discussion taking place in this country is not yet an intellectual argument. It is important that those in Washington understand not just that people are indignant and upset, but *why* they are upset. If this government were persuaded to take action to reduce nuclear weaponry only because it was afraid of a mass movement whose motives it didn't understand, if it did it unwillingly, it wouldn't do it very well. I distrust efforts by governments dictated solely by the intimidation of a public opinion which is neither shared nor understood. The problem is how to make government respond in a determined and effective manner.

Having said that, I do believe that the public discussion of the problems presented by nuclear weaponry now taking place in this country is going to go down in history as the most significant any democratic society has ever engaged in . . . provided, of course, that history is to continue at all and does not itself fall victim to the sort of weaponry we have been discussing. □

PHOTO BY GRACE WARNECKE

BY FRED KAPLAN

The ABM: Another Big Mistake

If you thought the ABM was dead, look again. It's about to undergo a startling resurrection.

Ronald Reagan wants to spend $870.5 million for research, development, testing and prototype construction of new ABMs in fiscal 1983, $1 billion in fiscal 1984, and another $6 billion or so in the four years following—all in service of an idea that probably won't work, and in violation of the one arms-control treaty that has imposed genuine limits on the arms race.

ABMs are anti-ballistic missiles—missiles that shoot down enemy missiles plunging toward airbases, missile sites, cities, or other targets. There have been two major battles fought over the ABM—one in the late 1950s, waged rather secretly among scientific groups inside the government; the other in the late 1960s, carried out very publicly, involving many of the same scientists who had tangled a decade earlier.

In both instances, the anti-ABM forces won—the first time because the decision makers were convinced that the technology was inadequate for the mission; the second because in 1972 Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev signed the ABM Treaty forbidding deployment by each side of more than two ABM sites, each with a maximum of 100 ABM interceptors. (A 1974 Protocol to the Treaty limited this further to *one* site each. The U.S. dismantled the one it had started; the USSR has never deployed more than the 64 defensive missiles planted around Moscow long ago.)

Late in the Carter Administration, the game began to change. Carter's plan for the MX missile involved that marvelously roccoco display of roads and thousands of holes in the ground called Multiple Protective Shelters. Each of 200 MX missiles was to have been rotated among 4,600 shelters. The Soviets, not knowing where the real missiles were, would have to fire warheads at all of the shelters to ensure a successful first strike.

However, officials soon began to realize that—even under the SALT II Treaty—the Soviets could indeed place enough warheads on their land-based missiles alone to saturate all 4,600 shelters. So, a loose alliance began to form between the Air Force (which makes MX) and the Army (which makes ABMs) to add ABMs to the system if the Soviets did indeed start building enough warheads to drench MX. That way, the Soviets—assuming that an ABM might shoot down the warhead aimed at the shelter containing the real missile—would have to fire at least *two* warheads at each of the 4,600 shelters, or 9,200 warheads in all.

Carter had requested that the ABM budget be increased from $227.5 million in fiscal 1979 to $319.6 million in his final budget proposal for fiscal 1982.

Ronald Reagan killed off the multiple-shelter MX plan and substituted the infamous Dense-Pack plan, now called Closely Spaced Basing—CSB for short.

The idea of CSB is to space the MX missiles very closely together, requiring the Soviets, if they launch a first strike, to fly all of their attacking warheads along a very narrow corridor. When the first warhead explodes, it will set off such a cloud of dust and neutrons and such high wind velocities that the warheads immediately following will be destroyed or blown away as a result. This phenomenon is known as "fratricide," one warhead killing its brother warheads.

Many Pentagon officials and outside consultants think, however, that dense-packing won't be enough, that ABMs will eventually be required. For one way the Soviets might defeat CSB is to build earth-penetrating warheads that could burrow through the ground and explode simultaneously—thus circumventing the fratricide problem entirely.

Another is to explode several warheads 50,000 feet above the MX site. The explosion will emit enough X rays and electromagnetic pulses to "pin down" the MX missiles in their silos. Then the Soviets can send in more warheads, at lower and sharper angles, to destroy the helplessly trapped missiles in their silos. Therefore, the argument goes, ABMs are needed to shoot down these warheads before they do their dread pinning-down or burrowing.

One thing is wrong, though: the ABM will almost certainly not work.

The problem with the ABM proposed in the 1950s and 1960s was that the Soviets could have saturated it with a large number of warheads; or, by exploding a nuclear device 60-100,000 feet up they could cause a "blackout," an ionization of the atmosphere that distorts or blinds radar signals. Without radar, the ABM system is paralyzed.

The ABMs that have been developed more recently have faster data-processing, higher-frequency radars, and slightly more durable hardware than their predecessors. But the fundamental problems remain, according to a wide range of weapons scientists in and out of government. A combination of decoys, blackout and anti-radar tactics, they say, would bring the ABMs of today and tomorrow to a quick and humiliating defeat.

The new ABM also has serious implications for arms control. The ABM Treaty of 1972 calls for a review of the treaty every five years. One is going on at this moment. U.S. officials feel that they are honoring the treaty; that since the MX missiles will be so closely bunched in the CSB plan, the ABMs defending them will all be in one "site," and no violation of the treaty's 1974 protocol will be necessary.

However, they are overlooking something. The 1972 treaty allowed one ABM site in the Minuteman missile fields of North Dakota and one around Washington, D.C. The 1974 protocol allowed the United States to defend either area and to switch from one site to the other (though only once and only in a year of official review).

An ABM defense of MX, however, would require construction of a site in a completely different area—in the Southwest, or wherever the MX ends up being deployed. The protocol does not allow this. The Soviets would have every reason to see such a move as a violation of the ABM Treaty, of which the protocol is formally a part.

If they do, and if Reagan insists on continuing with his futile and very costly plan, the arms race is destined to take one of its more senseless spins. □

Fred Kaplan writes frequently on defense and is the author of a book on nuclear strategy and strategists to be published this spring.

ENGLAND

Church, Labor Back Unilateralism

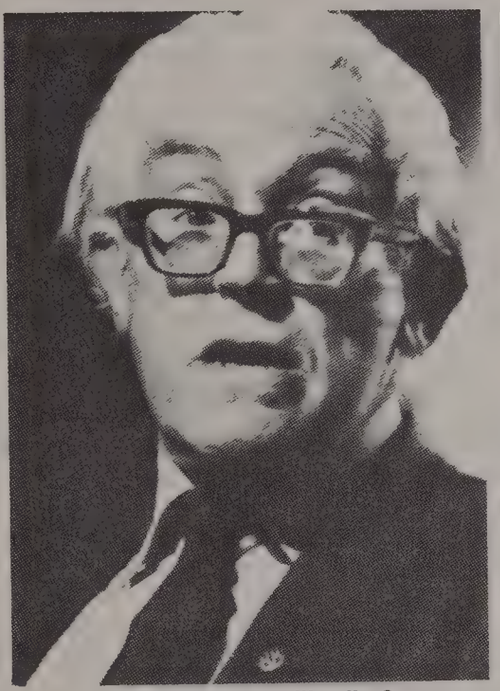
This fall has been a particularly encouraging season for peace campaigners in Britain. First, the Labor Party conference, on September 29, passed a motion which effectively committed the party to go into the next general election pledged to carry out some form of unilateral disarmament. Two weeks later, a Church of England working party issued a report which also came out unequivocally in favor of unilateralism.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her ministers were more worried by the second event than the first. To many this might seem strange: the Labor Party may yet form the next government of Britain, whereas the church can never do more than lobby from the sidelines.

Government officials explain their concern about the Church of England's report quite simply. The church, they say, has given the peace movement a new respectability. Although the Church of England's membership has been dwindling for many years, it retains a special position in British society. It is a part of the British state: The queen is at its head, and bishops and archbishops are appointed personally by the prime minister. Only about 1.3 million regularly attend Anglican churches, but the church still has some influence, not least in the 5,570 schools for which it is responsible.

The conservative government's campaign against the church's apparent drift toward unilateralism began a few days before the committee's report was officially published. Winston Churchill, a Conservative Party spokesman on defense (and grandson of Britain's wartime leader), said that the report "represents the workings of a narrow activist group, inspired in some quarters with a political motivation." He added, "There could be nothing more immoral than if the government of this country were recklessly to pursue the unilateralist policies advocated by this report and CND [the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament]." Thatcher herself argued that the report's proposals "would threaten the peace and security that we have enjoyed in this country for 37 years."

An opinion poll in October found that 40 percent of clergy in the Church of England support unilateral nuclear disarmament, while 49 percent oppose it and 11 percent are undecided. Among those who oppose it are some of the most senior religious figures in Britain, who have emphasized that the report represents only the views of the church committee. Unilateralism will not be official church policy unless the report's recommendations are accepted next February by the General Synod.



Foot: An "immoral" policy?

Nevertheless, the report has undeniably embarrassed the government, partly because the committee which produced it was not the "narrow activist group" depicted by Churchill. Its chairman, John Baker, was appointed Bishop of Salisbury by Thatcher last year precisely because he was thought not to be a "radical." He describes his own political views as right-of-center.

The specific recommendations made by the bishop's committee are that the government should phase out Polaris submarines and missiles (Britain's "independent nuclear deterrent") and cancel immediately the Trident missile, which is the planned successor to Polaris. A timetable, the committee noted, would be set for getting rid of "weapons wholly or mainly of British manufacture, U.S.-made Depth Bombs, missiles and artillery under dual key, U.S. air and submarine base facilities, and the projected Cruise Missiles."

These proposals are almost exactly the same as those which were passed by the Labor Party conference, five million votes to two million. However, neither the Church of England nor the Labor Party advocated British withdrawal from the NATO alliance. Some critics suggest it is hypocritical to expect to remain in NATO while closing down all American bases in Britain. One senior Labor politician, Joan Lestor, argues that membership in NATO will not preclude Britain from removing nuclear weapons from its soil, since two other NATO members—Canada and Norway—have already done so.

Of course, a resolution passed by a Labor conference might not be put into practice by a Labor government. Previous Labor administrations have often ignored party policies when they have taken office. However, the present Labor leader, Michael Foot, was a founder of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the 1950s and has a long-standing interest in the subject. In the past year some labor activists have accused Foot of tempering his commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament, but his aides deny the charge. In an interview after this year's Labor conference, Foot was careful not to commit himself to a specific timetable for the abandonment of nuclear weapons and bases. "I don't believe it could all be done in one fell swoop," he said. But he did add that the next Labor government should try to introduce a non-nuclear defense program "as speedily as we possibly can."

Some political observers believe that this will lead to the shelving of Labor's commitment to take Britain out of the European Economic Community, or EEC. They argue that if a Labor government were to close down American bases in Britain it would need support from other socialist governments in Western Europe—all of whom are opposed to British withdrawal from the EEC. Foot himself says that he favors a "first things first" policy, and that Britain's departure from the EEC would not be done in a way

PHOTO: WIDE WORLD

that would "injure our other objectives." If this means that Foot has to choose between unilateral nuclear disarmament and leaving the EEC, he may well go for disarmament. **—Francis Wheen**

Francis Wheen is a staff writer in London for the New Statesman.

CANADA

Bomb Attacks Cruise's 'Brain'

The day after the bombing of a factory in Toronto that makes cruise missile guidance systems, the Cruise Missile Conversion Project held a press conference to respond to speculation that the peace movement fosters acts of terrorism.

The October 14 explosion, which a group called Direct Action has taken credit for, injured four employees of Litton Systems Canada and three police officers and destroyed over 60 feet of the factory's two-story front wall. The plant has been the site of several demonstrations and civil disobedience actions over the last few months.

In a prepared statement, the Project, a prominent Toronto disarmament group, asserted that it "abhors any act that leads to personal injury just as we oppose the destructiveness of the cruise missile." It claimed the bombing would intensify its non-violent attempts to engage Litton in dialogues and court cases that would make the company "accountable for what is being built there." The Project also noted the irony of a Litton representative saying, in reaction to the explosion, that "Bombing is madness."

During a press conference on October 18, the representative, Charles Pittman, suggested that local peace groups "through their undue emphasis on the factory site had created an environment that fosters acts of violence." Some newspapers also tried to link the bombing with earlier demonstrations at the plant, but James Scott of the Coalition for October 30th, which organized a National Day of Protest against the cruise missile, says, "the Canadian public is intelligent enough to see that it's wrong to label the peace movement terrorists."

Staff Sergeant Alan Clark of the Toronto Police Department agrees: "We don't think the explosion is characteristic of the mainstream peace movement." He declines to comment on attempts to track down Direct Action which, in a nine-page letter claiming responsibility for the bombing, said it "never intended harm to come to anyone—especially the workers of Litton." Nevertheless, the group "does not regret the decision to sabotage the production of the cruise missile's guidance 'brain.' " **—Walter Lew**

Round-Up

WEST GERMANY: Citizens in the Eifel district, which borders Luxembourg, have organized a peace initiative in reaction to the government's refusal to confirm or deny reports that Wiersdorf (population 174), near Bitburg in Eifel, has been chosen as a cruise missile deployment site.

The West German government has said it will deploy NATO cruise missiles if other European nations do, but unlike England and Italy, it has not disclosed deployment sites.

Wiersdorf was first publicly mentioned as a site in *Stern*, the West German newsmagazine. While the local Social Democratic Party came out against the deployment and proposed declaring the area a nuclear-free zone, the Christian Democrats tried to allay fears by insisting that the missiles would not be deployed there. On October 8 a peace coalition was founded which has organized petition drives, a post card campaign (which calls on the federal government to make deployment sites public), a vigil at the Ministry of Defense in Bonn, and activities in conjunction with West Germany's Peace Week, November 7-17.

BELGIUM: "The anti-nuclear groups want the same thing as I do," General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, said during a recent press briefing in Brussels. Revealing that his headquarters had developed plans for defending Western Europe without nuclear weapons, Rogers implied that some of NATO's stockpile of 6000 nuclear warheads is superfluous to the aim of effectively responding to a conventional Soviet attack.

The new plans would require an annual 4 percent increase in the defense budget of NATO members until 1990 (1 percent more than the increases already set) to make available the reconnaissance planes, computerized information systems, and highly accurate non-nuclear missiles that the strategy is dependent on.

Several observers believe that the non-nuclear strategy is, in part, a response to Western Europe's disarmament movements and have suggested that the NATO command is offering a lower likelihood of nuclear war in exchange for support from anti-nuclear groups for a build-up of more powerful conventional forces. The new plans, however, leave intact nuclear weapons deemed necessary as "deterrents" as well as any cruise and Pershing missiles deployed after the current arms talks in Geneva are concluded.

SOUTHWEST PACIFIC: Walter Lini, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu—a group of 80 islands in the Southwest Pacific—announced on October 18 that Soviet warships would be allowed to use Vanuatu's ports, provided they give assurances that they are not carrying nuclear arms. Last February Vanuatu did not admit two U.S. Navy ships because they did not give such assurances. A month later, the ships were also denied access to ports in Fiji for the same reason.

In June 1983 Vanuatu will host the next Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Conference, whose charter calls for a ban on the transportation, storage, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific. Earlier this year William Bodde, Jr., director of the State Department's Office of Pacific Island Affairs from 1978 to 1980, said that he was "convinced that the United States government must do everything possible to counter this anti-nuclear movement." He added that a " 'nuclear-free Pacific' could change the balance of power with the Soviets . . . and thereby endanger world peace."

BRIEF NOTES: The sailboat Greenpeace III, on its fourth voyage to the French Polynesian atoll Moruroa to protest French nuclear arms testing there, was boarded by French naval authorities and its crew charged with trespassing into territorial waters on November 1. Two members of the three-man crew were made to sign vows that they would never enter French Polynesia . . . . In Osaka, Japan, about 500,000 people from all over the country participated in an anti-nuclear arms rally on October 24, the opening day of United Nations Disarmamemt Week . . . . Participants in the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, evicted twice from their shelters, returned to the site and vowed to maintain their positons outside the main gates of the U.S. Air Force base in Berkshire, England. An International Day of Women's Action is planned for December 12 at Greenham, where 96 cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment. □

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

Rees To Barron To Reagan

When Ronald Reagan told a gathering of veterans' groups in Columbus, Ohio, in early October that the nuclear freeze movement was being manipulated by those "who want the weakening of America," a cheer must have gone up in Pleasantville, New York. Pleasantville is the company town where one of the President's favorite magazines, *Reader's Digest*, is published. Just a few days earlier, a lengthy article by Senior Editor John Barron had appeared in the magazine saying much the same thing. Indeed, the message was so similar one wonders whether Reagan hadn't simply cribbed a line or two from the piece on the way in from the airport.

Reagan was not the first government official to promote the *Reader's Digest* story, which appeared under the headline, "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace.' " On September 29, Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, had the article read into the *Congressional Record* to buttress his charge made on the Senate floor that an organization called Peace Links, headed by Betty Bumpers, wife of Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, was being manipulated by communists. Although Peace Links was not specifically mentioned in the *Digest* article, the overall theme of his piece lent credence to Denton's claim that "KGB involvement in the so-called peace movement is well-documented."

That a statement may be "well-documented" is, of course, no test of its veracity. In the self-referential world of right-wing ideologues, the wildest accusations can often be backed up by endless citations of each others' work. As further so-called evidence of his allegations against Peace Links, Denton introduced some forty-five pages of material into the *Congressional Record* (at a total cost to taxpayers of $21,420), including articles from two right-wing publications, *Information Digest* and *Western Goals Report*, both edited by John Rees, a former undercover operative. *Information Digest*, which Rees has been putting out since the late 1960's, traffics in unsubstantiated information about liberal and left-wing groups. It relies on a network of informants around the country and is circulated to intelligence agencies on the local, state, and national levels. Its sister publication, *Western Goals Report*, is published by Western Goals Foundation, whose chairman is the arch-conservative Georgia Congressman, Larry McDonald.

Although neither of these publications has much credibility with the mainstream press, occasionally the information they contain finds its way into more legitimate outlets. This seems to have been the case with John Barron's article in *Reader's Digest*. Much of what Barron reports about the peace movement in the United States—accounts of meetings, quotes from speeches, backgrounds of individuals—seems to be taken directly from an article titled "The Soviet Peace Offensive" that appeared in the March 1, 1982, issue of *Western Goals Report*.

In one section, describing a meeting of the U.S. Peace Council in the fall of 1981, Barron writes: "Michael Myerson, a longtime communist functionary, asserted that the U.S. Peace Council had a unique responsibility to fuse the cause of disarmament with that of the Palestine Liberation Organization and guerrillas in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, and South Africa." Compare that with this excerpt from *Western Goals Report*: "Mike Myerson, who has been a CPUSA functionary since his student days some twenty years ago, emphasized the USPC and WPC's 'unique responsibility' of merging the fight for Western disarmament with provision of support to . . . revolutionary groups in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, South Africa, and the PLO."

Similarly, Barron's accounts of Mobilization for Survival meetings in October and December 1981, seem to rely almost exclusively—often quote for quote—on information compiled by John Rees. While some of this information, like that above, is fairly straightforward, much of it is based on hearsay and innuendo, the product of a conspiratorial mind that sees the presence of two people at a meeting as evidence that one does the other's bidding. Thus, Women Strike for Peace, because it opposed U.S. intervention in Vietnam, as did the Soviet Union, is branded a KGB front. And Terry Provance, the former disarmament director of the American Friends Service Committee, is described in both *Information Digest* and *Reader's Digest* as a "World Peace Council activist" who participated in the founding of the U.S. Peace Council, when, it turns out, he is not a member of either organization.

The carelessness which can lead to the ever-widening circulation of unsubstantiated information can be seen in a related incident involving *The Washington Post*. In an October 6 editorial condemning both President Reagan and Senator Denton for red-baiting the freeze movement, the newspaper fell into a trap set by the very people it claimed to be criticizing. Among the documents introduced by Denton into the *Congressional Record* was a State Department report which called the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom a "well-known international front." By repeating this statement as fact—Stephen Rosenfeld, who wrote the editorial, acknowledged that the State Department publication was indeed his source of information on this point—and by advising Peace Links not to "abide the taint that even the slightest connection to a Soviet stooge group imparts," the *Post* accomplished in a single paragraph what Senator Denton had sought to do in forty-five pages.

Officials of the Women's International League met with the paper's editorial board and demanded a retraction. When the *Post* pushed the State Department for more evidence, it learned that the Soviet-front characterization was not intended to apply to the group's American chapter. Three days later, in an unusual follow-up editorial, the paper apologized, saying it did "not mean to suggest that any of the groups advising Peace Links is a Soviet stooge." (This was, of course, exactly what it had meant to suggest.)

While the *Post* deserves some credit for pulling back, reporters and editors would do well to remember what tripped up the paper in the first place. Thirty years after another senator, Joseph McCarthy, suckered the press with "evidence" that communists had infiltrated the government, many in the media seem to have forgotten just how easily they can be manipulated—not by the KGB, but by their own elected leaders. □

MUSIC

When Atomic Power Went Pop

On a blustery day in January 1949, President Harry S. Truman stood beside Vice President Alben W. Barkley on the reviewing stand for the inaugural parade in Washington. Bands, floats, mounted riders, clowns, all passed by, each hoping for a smile or wave from one of the two dignitaries. Coming up Pennsylvania Avenue now was a contingent from Charlotte, North Carolina, headed by a cowboy singer named Fred Kirby.

Kirby, astride a handsome white stallion, had just taken off his hat and bowed to the President when the chief of police from Charlotte, standing next to the reviewing stand, yelled, "Atomic Power!" Truman, who had authorized the first use of the atomic bomb four years earlier, turned with a startled expression on his face, and Secret Service agents tensed.

Yet the parade moved on without incident, and only certain fans of pop music really understood what had happened: The President had just been introduced to the composer of one of the first, and most famous, of the songs that comprise a unique and revealing genre in American music—atomic bomb music.

Though many people tend to associate the nuclear war theme in pop music with protest singers of the 1960s like Bob Dylan ("A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall") or Judy Collins ("Hiroshima Lullaby"), the bomb actually made its way into pop music within weeks after Truman's decision to devastate Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The era from 1945 to 1955 was full of songs about the bomb—from gospel to jazz to country to rock 'n' roll—and the songs reflected the attitudes of an American public first coming to grips with a force that would change their lives.

The opening shot came from the country music camp. By the end of World War II country music was escaping its "hillbilly" image, and had won over millions of GI's. In April 1946, eight months after Hiroshima, a popular Chicago singing duo named Karl and Harty wrote and recorded the first song to mention the atomic bomb: "When the Atom Bomb Fell." The song saw the bomb simply as "the answer to our fighting boys' prayer." Released by Columbia records, it was a conventional World War II patriotic song, but attained some popularity. Three months later it was overshadowed by "Atomic Power," a song which made much more of a point and addressed the nuclear weapons issue far more directly.

Country singer Fred Kirby got "the whole world" talking about the A-bomb

Its author, Fred Kirby, was a nationally known country singer who had been featured in the mid-1940s on a CBS network program, "Carolina Calling." He wrote "Atomic Power" the morning after he heard about the bombing of Hiroshima. "It was just such a shock," recalls Kirby, now a host of a children's television show in Charlotte. "I know I heard about it that night and I couldn't hardly sleep. And the next morning I yelled, 'Atomic Power,' and I just felt spiritually toward writing the song. This was an idea that should not be used to destroy mankind, but to benefit mankind, who had such energy." The final version of the song included a warning about the possible consequences of man fooling with such an awesome power and an association of the atomic power with God.

Fred Kirby's recording of "Atomic Power" was released in May 1946. About the same time a version by the Buchanan Brothers, a Georgia duo then working in New York, became a hit, and soon *Billboard*, the bible of the music business, was trumpeting, "The whole world is talking about ATOMIC POWER, the greatest folk song in twenty years." Country singers fell over themselves to record cover versions of it.

Two of the song's themes—the association of the power with God and its "warning"—were to be echoed in the dozens of atomic songs that followed on the success of "Atomic Power." The "warning" theme was a variation on the old film cliché directed toward Hollywood's mad scientists ("You are fooling with knowledge man was not meant to know"). In 1946 West Coast newsman Vern Partlow crystallized this feeling in his "Old Man Atom," a "talking blues" which remained popular through the 1960s. Often called "Talking Atomic Bomb," the song epitomizes Cold War jitters of the late 1940s: "I hold this truth to be self-evident, that all men may be cremated equal." Partlow attacks both the scientists who developed the power and the diplomats who suggest that we "atomize world peace" by extinguishing "every damn atom that can't speak English"—a reflection of the fact that in 1946 only the U.S., Britain, and Canada had developed atomic fission. Though these topical references later dropped out of the song, it was widely recorded (even by the cowboy singing group the Sons of the Pioneers) and became a staple of the folk revival.

Gospel music in the late 1940s was also breaking out of church and Sunday school molds, and was becoming a pop music form. Evangelical Christians pointed to the atomic power as a symbol of God's, not man's, power. Hawkshaw Hawkins's "When They Found the Atomic Power"

PHOTO COURTESY OF COUNTRY MUSIC FOUNDATION LIBRARY AND MEDIA CENTER, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

(1946) chronicled the actual development of the bomb but emphasized that the breakthrough occurred only when "the Lord held out His mighty hand." The nation's leading black gospel group, the Golden Gate Quartet, weighed in with "Atom and Evil," an equation of atomic technology with original sin. The Grand Ole Opry's leading duet, the Louvin Brothers, wrote and recorded "Great Atomic Power" in 1952, in which they asked, "Do you fear this man's invention that they call atomic power?"

But the most outrageous—and most popular—of all the gospel-atomic efforts was Lee V. McCullum's 1949 hit, "Jesus Hits Like An Atom Bomb." The song laments that while everybody is worried about the atomic bomb, nobody seems worried about "the day my Lord will come." When He does, He "will hit, Great God Almighty, like an atom bomb." Dozens of gospel quartets, black and white, began featuring this song in churches and on radio shows around the country, and five or six recorded it. It was in part a reaction to the early metaphors of pop songwriters who, in trying to explain the new and awesome force, had equated the bomb with God's power; by 1949, with the bomb seen more and more as a tool or a weapon, people were sensing that the bomb was man's power after all, and that God's power should not be restricted to such impressive but finite terms.

Meanwhile, the term "atomic" began to take on new, less frightening connotations for the American public. The pop music world began to see all manner of references to "atomic" as an adjective, as a term that suggested fast, powerful, or exciting. Jazz musicians especially latched onto the reference, with such records as "Atom Buster" (Barney Kessel), "Atomic Boogie" (Pete Johnson), "Atomic Did It" (Maylon Clark), "Atomic Polka" (Brunon Kryger), and "Atomic Cocktail" by jazz bassist Slim Galliard. The last piece was even issued on a new West Coast jazz record label called Atomic, whose label featured a picture of a mushroom cloud. At the same time, dozens of Atomic Cleaners and Atomic Service Stations came into being.

By the time of the Korean War in 1950, most Americans were no longer seeing the atomic bomb as something supernatural or awe-inspiring: by now it was plainly a tool, and many country singers found themselves agreeing with General MacArthur's desire to use it to end the Korean War. Three popular songs of this era merged the Cold War and the atomic holocaust motif into new forms. Jackie Doll's "When They Drop the Atomic Bomb" suggests letting General MacArthur use the bomb in Korea; the "radioactivity will burn them to the ground," and if there are "any Commies left," they'll be on the run. The most popular of these Korean songs was Roy Acuff's "Advice to Joe," released by Columbia in 1951. (Joe, of course, is "Mr. Stalin.").

The post-Korea years were dominated by science fiction novels and films about the effect of an atomic strike on America, and the airwaves were full of civil defense air-raid tests. It was no surprise that the newly emerging rock 'n' roll should tackle atomic war. In fact, one of the pioneers of rock 'n' roll, Bill Haley, scored an early hit with "Thirteen Women," a weird post-holocaust sex fantasy about one man and thirteen women who survived. Bobby Bradford's "Fallout Shelter" merged the theme of teenage love with the civil defense jitters; the singer's girlfriend's family has no shelter when The Day comes, so he valiantly decides to leave his own shelter to join her outside. Songs like Sonny Russell's "50 Megatons" (1956), the Five Stars's "Atom Bomb Baby" (1957), and Skip Stanley's "Satellite Baby" (1957) all show how the atomic imagery was being integrated into casual American speech and, indeed, into American consciousness. Where songs of 1946 had portrayed the bomb as a strange, awesome force to be feared, songs like these used the bomb to describe the most intimate sexuality. The Five Stars could now use phrases like "nuclear fission on her soul" and "chain reaction in my heart," and Skip Stanley could sing "nuclear baby, don't fission out on me," with confidence that American teenagers, however behind in their science studies they might be, would understand.

The 1945-1955 era was in some ways a naive period for popular culture, and few of the singers who sang about the atom bomb thought of themselves in any way as protest singers. The next decade was to change all that, with a new generation of bomb songs from singers who were very self-conscious of what they were doing. Yet in their own way, these early singers did articulate many of the early fears the American people had about atomic energy—fears that persisted in spite of the efforts of the government to reassure everyone. The songs show that many Americans were at first fully skeptical of the bomb, and reflect a populist mandate that was all but ignored by the politicians of the age. **—Charles Wolfe**

Charles Wolfe is a professor of music at Middle Tennessee State University and the editor of the Journal of Country Music. *He co-produced the soundtrack album to the film,* The Atomic Cafe, *which features many of the songs mentioned above. The album is available for $7.50 from The Archives Project, 4717 Arlington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22203.*

BOOKS

Forcing The MAD "Show" Off The Road

BEYOND THE COLD WAR: A New Approach to the Arms Race and Nuclear Annihilation, by E.P. Thompson. Pantheon Books, 198 pages; $15.00 (hardcover), $5.95 (paperback).

In his new book, *Beyond the Cold War*, E.P. Thompson has some things to say about the arms race that may not sit well with many in the American anti-nuclear weapons movement. For Thompson, the noted British social historian and co-founder of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement, a freeze is not enough; arms control agreements are not the way to prevent nuclear war. What is needed is nothing less than a fundamental reshaping of global politics—an end to the Cold War.

"We must go behind the missiles to the Cold War," Thompson declares in this collection of well-reasoned and provocative essays, speeches, and lectures. Otherwise, we should expect "exterminism"—the inertial thrust within both the United States and the Soviet Union that drives the superpowers toward nuclear war—to reach its logical conclusion within the next 20 to 30 years.

To Thompson, a reliance on arms control agreements, hence deterrence, hence the strategic theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), upon which the other two are based, is simply a prescription for disaster. MAD, he writes, is little more than a suicide pact that fuels both the Cold War and the arms race. Rather than creating a stable peace, it "fixes indefinitely the tension which makes the resolution of differences improbable." In short, by assuming that the United States and the Soviet Union are in a "state of permanent war," it locks them into this position. The Cold War, which begat the concept of MAD, now has a life of its own.

So what, then, is the Cold War truly about? It is about itself, Thompson says. It is a habit, an addiction. The Cold War was originally a "show" put on the road by two rival entrepreneurs in 1946 or 1947. (Thompson resists blaming one side or the other.) "The show has grown bigger and bigger, the entrepreneurs have lost control of it...." Its ideology is self-reproducing. The military and the security services and their political servants

need the Cold War. Where would the CIA be without the KGB, the Pentagon without its Soviet equivalent? And vice versa.

Thompson is an activist, and the author of the important pamphlet, *Protest and Survive*, but he is no optimist. The Cold War (and the nuclear arms race) now has a logic all its own. "That logic," he writes, "if uncorrected, must prove terminal, and in the next two or three decades." Thompson does not choose to speculate "on what accident or which contingency will bring us to that terminus." He says only that such an end "is at least probable." Only a sweeping change in Cold War politics can prevent an eventual holocaust. "To check the missiles is something," he notes. "But the political launch-pad for all these missiles is the adversary posture of the two great rival alliances, grouped around the USA and USSR: that is, the Cold War." To dismantle the "launch-pad," Thompson says, the disarmament movement must undermine the Cold War with new ideas and movements on both sides.

Thompson writes from a uniquely European perspective. Europe is a "pig in the middle," squeezed between two overarmed and threatening superpowers. Accordingly, the European peace movement has its own agenda. "A freeze makes sense for the superpowers," he writes, "but here in Europe we have to get rid of the weapons." Rather than bicker, though, he proposes combining a nuclear-free Europe strategy with the freeze.

What the peace movement must do first, Thompson writes, is to mobilize rapidly in order to prevent the deployment of cruise missiles in Western Europe, which is now scheduled for 1983. He believes their deployment may signal the point of no return in the Cold War. Second, the European disarmament movement must work for a nuclear-free Europe, West and East, as well as for the dissolution of both blocs. The "historic task of the peace movement," Thompson told demonstrators at the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament rally in Hyde Park on October 24, 1981, is "to put Europe back together."

Third, Thompson says, the disarmament movement must form alliances with anti-imperialist and national liberation movements in every part of the world. Militarism must be nipped in the bud long before it can escalate into nuclear conflict. Finally—and this is what Thompson terms the "most critical and decisive point"—the peace movement in the West must make alliances with constructive elements in the Communist world which confront the "exterminist" structures and ideology of their own countries.

His scheme is rather grand, but Thompson persuasively presents his case. What is most frightening in his analysis is the magnitude of change that is required. Arms control proposals, he writes, won't "be worth a dime unless there are profound, worldwide modifications in public consciousness." That's a tall order, one which many within the American movement might find intimidating. But to Thompson, it seems the only real and lasting antidote to "exterminism."

—David Corn

FILM

Will The Nuclear Circle Be Unbroken?

DARK CIRCLE: Written and directed by Chris Beaver and Judy Irving, produced by Ruth Landy, co-produced and narrated by Judy Irving (82 minutes, 16mm color). Distributed by Independent Documentary Group, 394 Elizabeth Street, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Filmmaker Judy Irving was visiting Denver in 1978 when a nearby reservoir became contaminated with plutonium leaking from Rocky Flats, a weapons plant 16 miles outside the city. At Rocky Flats, workers turn out plutonium triggers for hydrogen bombs at the rate of 15 a week. Strong winds carry plutonium particles that escape the plant toward Denver, and plutonium traces have been found in the soil near Rocky Flats.

Irving, who had produced and directed documentaries on contemporary issues, decided to make a film illustrating what she had learned during her visit to Denver—that nuclear danger begins with the manufacture of bombs, not their actual use. She teamed up with Chris Beaver and Ruth Landy, two other filmmakers interested in environmental issues. Together they have produced a frightening, well-crafted documentary on the effect of the defense industry on ordinary citizens. The "dark circle" of the film's title is the link between nuclear weapons and nuclear power; nuclear reactors produce plutonium, the raw material of bombs that remains radioactive for a quarter of a million years, and which is deadly poisonous to most forms of life.

The film profiles several people who have been affected by the nuclear industry. They include a Rocky Flats worker dying of brain cancer; a Navy vet who flew through a mushroom cloud and who now has leukemia; two Japanese who survived Hiroshima and Nagasaki; a mother of two children who opposes the construction of a nuclear reactor at Diablo Canyon, California. Two stories end relatively well: Diablo Canyon's license to operate is revoked indefinitely, and a Rocky Flats machinist whose wife is a peace activist quits to start his own business. One story isn't over: the veteran, who has lost his final appeal for compensation for service-related injuries, says he wants to give up because the strain is giving his wife migraines; she interrupts, saying that they must not abandon their fight. And one story comes full circle: a young couple concerned about the health of their children move away from Rocky Flats, selling their home to another family with children.

The filmmakers concentrated on these "nuclear biographies" because they see signs of hope that ordinary people who are willing to fight will replace experts and "lead us out of the atomic age, into the next." At the same time, they have done some extraordinary investigative work of their own, unearthing government film that has never been seen before: the aftermath of two major plutonium fires at Rocky Flats in 1957 and 1969 that leaked the material off–site; the assembly line for the hydrogen bomb; a bizarre experiment in which 700 pigs were dressed in military uniforms and exposed to an atomic blast; and three instances in which the government deliberately allowed test reactors to melt down.

Although the filmmakers were unable to obtain written reports on the experimental meltdowns, which took place in Idaho, New Mexico, and Nevada, they found that the audiovisual records were less strictly controlled. Even so, they had to resort to the Freedom of Information Act, endless phone calls and visits to government agencies, and help from U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder. They barely scratched the surface of the government's collections: Beaver says that he saw perhaps 10,000 of the 23 million feet of nuclear-effects footage in the Defense Nuclear Agency's repository.

Dark Circle is an unusually skillful and unsettling documentation of the fact that, as a farmer near Rocky Flats points out, nuclear weapons have already begun to harm the citizens they were designed to protect.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

•RESOURCES•

BOOKS

This column features books, handbooks, films and other material individuals and organizations in the anti-nuclear weapons movement may find useful. Your submissions are welcome.

NEW AND NOTEWORTHY

With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War, by Robert Scheer (Random House, $14.95), not only documents the recent shift in U.S. policy toward fighting and "winning" a nuclear war, it provides a look at the individuals who are behind this change. Based largely on his newsmaking interviews with Administration officials now in charge of nuclear strategy—Scheer is a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*—this book examines their thinking on the subject. It is revealing and quite frightening.

Beyond The Freeze: The Road to Nuclear Sanity, by Daniel Ford, Henry Kendall, and Steven Nadis (Beacon Press paperback, $4.95), is a primer prepared for the Union of Concerned Scientists' nationwide teach-in, which took place on November 11. In simple, clear language, the book covers the history of U.S. arms policy since 1945, progress in arms talks to date, and the dangers inherent in the Reagan administration's military build-up. The sections on the shortcomings of proposed military space stations, and on deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe are particularly useful.

What Kind of Guns Are They Buying For Your Butter? A Beginner's Guide to Defense, Weaponry and Military Spending, by Sheila Tobias, Peter Goudinoff, Stefan Leader and Shelah Leader (Morrow, $14.50). For those who don't know the MX from a football. Two feminists and two defense experts have written a useful beginner's guide to our current arsenal, the defense industry, and the procurement systems on which it depends, and the threat it poses to our political and social fabric. The valuable appendixes include a map of nuclear installations in the United States, a glossary that provides a "working vocabulary," and a list of the top U.S. defense contractors.

Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima, by psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton, a classic study of Hiroshima survivors, was first published in 1967, and has been recently reissued in paperback (Basic Books, $10.50). Lifton's preface says that the reissue is based on "a spirit of new hope" in "our evolving capacity to acknowledge Hiroshima and to make proper use of it."

The Game of Disarmament, by Alva Myrdal, is another paperback reissue (Pantheon, $7.95) of a study of the arms race by the Swedish sociologist, former diplomat, and 1982 Nobel Peace Prize winner. When her book was first published six years ago, "the language of détente was in the air." Although now "the danger has never been greater," Myrdal still sees promise if the superpowers agree to a nuclear freeze and to pledges of no first use of nuclear weapons.

Waging Peace: A Handbook for the Struggle to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, edited by Jim Wallis (Harper and Row, $4.95). This collection of articles and essays is an attempt "to place before the churches the abolition of nuclear weapons as an urgent matter of faith." It offers historical and theological perspectives on the arms race and war, and discusses how an individual can work for peace within the political system and within churches.

BOOKS ABOUT ATOMIC VETS

Countdown Zero, by Thomas H. Saffer and Orville E. Kelly (G.P. Putnam's Sons, $15.95). Two atomic veterans describe, in harrowing personal accounts, their participation in tests of atomic bombs many times the power of those used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Kelly, who died of cancer in 1980, founded (with the help of his wife) the National Association of Atomic Veterans, and was the first vet to win medical benefits for his atomic-related illness. Saffer is deputy director of NAAV. The book includes a valuable listing of organizations atomic vets can contact for medical, psychiatric, and legal aid.

G.I. Guinea Pigs, by Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign (Playboy Press-Wideview paperback, $6.95). Uhl and Ensign, co-founders of Citizen Soldier, a public interest group that champions soldiers' and vets' rights, write about men exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam, as well as atomic vets' experiences. They underscore Saffer and Kelly's argument that "the entire scope of what occurred at the Nevada Test Site probably will never be known." One vet says he saw a human volunteer who was placed so close to an atomic blast that the vet could smell burning flesh. The Defense Nuclear Agency has never confirmed the presence of such volunteers at any atomic test.

Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation, by Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, with Robert Alvarez and Eleanor Waters (Delacorte hardcover $19.95; Delta paperback, $12.95). The book begins with the first atomic vets, the American troops who occupied Hiroshima and Nagasaki after their destruction. It tells the stories of soldiers who were exposed to radiation during the atmospheric tests of the 1950s and early 1960s, and continues with the experiences of nuclear industry workers and residents of communities near nuclear installations like Rocky Flats and Three Mile Island, who are exposed daily to radiation. The account of government attempts, dating from the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, to mislead the American public about radiation hazards make clear that the bombs built to guard against enemies are killing Americans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"A Checklist for Nuclear Books," *Publishers Weekly*, March 26, 1982, pp. 45-51. Despite some lacunae, this is the most comprehensive nuclear bibliography to date. Categories include nuclear war, disarmament, nuclear power, the anti-nuclear movement, survival guides, health and environment impacts, radioactive waste, and Three Mile Island.

—Compiled by Ann Marie Cunningham

"Congratulations, Dr. Teller. It's a bomb!"

Tony Hendra, a veteran of the *National Lampoon* who had a hand in *Not the New York Times* and *Off the Wall Street Journal*, has now edited *Meet Mr. Bomb*, billed as an "Official U.S. Government Parody."

This "Autobombography" pokes fun at the history of the arms race, nuclear war planning, and civil defense, as well as "life" after the bomb. Copies of the 28-page parody are available for $2.50, from Meet Mr. Bomb, High Meadow Farm, New London, NH 03257.

•CALENDAR•

CONTINUING EVENTS

THE RACE NOBODY WINS
The Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy is sponsoring a university tour of this updated multi-media slide show about the arms race narrated by Tony Randall and Jill Clayburgh. For further information: Charlie Kraybill, SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR
This 11-part television series on nuclear arms-related issues will feature such speakers as Sen. Julian Bond, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Colleen Dewhurst, John Kenneth Galbraith, Sen. Edward Kennedy, and Paul Warnke, among others. Produced by Cambridge Forum, it will be broadcast during November and December by approximately 100 public stations around the country; check local stations for the exact schedule. For other information, contact Jim Vetter, Cambridge Forum, 3 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2727.

UNFORGETTABLE FIRE
This exhibit of 70 drawings by Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors and disarmament posters from around the world will run through November 30 at the Peace Museum, 365 W Erie St., Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

NOVEMBER 18

NEW JERSEY
• **Edison** Presentation by Governor Thomas Kean of the Outstanding Ecumenical Effort Award to the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament; Pines Manor. *Contact:* Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, 40 Nassau St, Princeton, NJ 08540 (609) 924-5022.

NORTH CAROLINA
• **Charlotte** Talk by David Cortright, Director of SANE; St. Martin's Episcopal Church, 1510 E 7 St. *Contact:* Jean Wood, Charlotte SANE, 6334 Deveron Dr, Charlotte, NC 28211 (704) 364-1518.

OHIO
• **Statewide** "Ghost of Hiroshima," a multi-media documentary drama about survivors of the Hiroshima bombing, will be performed at: the YMCA, **Elyria** (Nov 18); First United Unitarian Church, **Columbus** (Nov 20); Trinity Cathedral, **Cleveland** (Nov 21); United Church of Christ, **Vermilion** (Nov 30). *Contact:* Diana Roose, 157 N Prospect St, Oberlin, OH 44074 (216) 775-2368.

PENNSYLVANIA
• **Pittsburgh** Presentation of the annual Thomas Merton Award to Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen for his promotion of resistance to nuclear weapons through income tax withholding; Dining Room, Tiernan Hall, Carlow College. *Contact:* Thomas Merton Center, 1111 E Carson St, Pittsburgh, PA 15203 (412) 381-1400.

TENNESSEE
• **Chattanooga** Conference, "Fate of the Earth," including a Peace Links seminar with Dorothy Douglas, and the films "Atomic Cafe" and "War Games," through Nov 22; Univ. of Tennessee. *Contact:* Dr. Bob Fulton, Univ. of Tennessee, McCallie Av, Chattanooga, TN 37401 (615) 755-4128.

NOVEMBER 19

MISSOURI
• **St. Louis** Conference of the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, including a screening of "Dark Circle"; Tegler Hall, Univ. of St. Louis, through Nov 21. *Contact:* Mike Jendrzejczyk, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601, or Pam Solo, Denver AFSC, 1660 Lafayette St, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.

NEW YORK
• **Niskayuna and West Milton** Leafletting every Friday at two facilities of the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory; River Rd, Niskayuna and Atomic Project Rd, W. Milton. *Contact:* Knolls Action Project, Box 3152, Albany, NY 12203 (518) 434-4037.

NOVEMBER 20

ARIZONA
• **Tucson** Square dance to benefit Nuclear-free State; Univ. of Arizona Ballroom, Student Union. *Contact:* Nuclear-free State, 1145 E 6 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 792-3517.

MAINE
• **Augusta** Quarterly meeting of the Maine Freeze Campaign; All Souls Unitarian Church. *Contact:* Maine Freeze Campaign, P.O. Box 3842, Portland, ME 04104 (207) 772-0680.

MICHIGAN
• **E. Lansing** Conference of the Michigan Alliance for Disarmament; Birchwood United Methodist Church, 469 N. Hagedorn. *Contact:* Justin Schwartz, 110 W Kingsley, Ann Arbor, MI 48103 (313) 995-5871.

MINNESOTA
• **Minneapolis** Symposia, "The Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War," with Dr. Helen Caldicott, Dr. Lewis Thomas, Paul Warnke, and others; Univ. of Minnesota, Willey Hall. *Contact:* Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 11 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02108 (617) 742-9395.

NEBRASKA
• **Lincoln** Statewide freeze assembly. *Contact:* Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 33 N 14 St, Lincoln, NE 68508 (402) 475-4258.

OHIO
• **Statewide** Legacy, Inc. continues its tour of the play "Alice in Blunderland," a musical allegory about the foibles and dangers of the nuclear age, in **Ravenna,** at the Immaculate Conception Catholic Church (Nov 20), and at the Westminster Presbyterian Church in **Akron** (Nov 21). *Contact:* Leslie Hudak, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, OH 44224 (216) 688-1253.
• **Columbus** Statewide freeze meeting on civil defense; Holy Family Peace Center, 584 W Broad. *Contact:* Reverse the Arms Race Federation/Ohio Freeze Campaign, 584 W Broad, Columbus, OH 43215 (614) 221-4969.

VIRGINIA
• **Richmond** Workshop, "Parenting for Peace and Justice"; Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N Laurel St, Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 358-1958.

NOVEMBER 21

ILLINOIS
• **Chicago** "Symphony for Survival," an all-Beethoven concert by 100 members of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sir Georg Solti, to benefit the Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and Chicago PSR; Orchestra Hall. *Contact:* The Symphony for Survival Office, 109 N Dearborn, Room 1104, Chicago, IL 60602 (312) 782-8196.

Dick Gregory will speak at the Whole Life Expo, November 26.

IOWA
• **Orange City** Musical-dramatic presentation on the freeze, "Freeze Please," by the Road Less Travelled; also, Nov 22 in **Des Moines.** *Contacts:* Orange City—Ronald Nelson, 315 6th St NW, Orange City, IA (712) 737-4937; Des Moines—Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

NEW YORK
• **New York** Discussion, "An Analysis of the November Elections," with Alan Wolfe and Carl McCall; The Riverside Church, Riverside Dr & 122 St, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

TEXAS
• **Austin** "Cantata for Peace," a new horn cantata by Daniel Mou; Gethsemane Lutheran Church, 200 W Anderson Lane, Austin, TX 78752 (512) 837-5019.

NOVEMBER 22

COLORADO
• **Boulder** Talk, "The Morality of War," by Col Malham Wakin of the U.S. Air Force Academy; Old Main Chapel, Univ. of Colorado. *Contact:* Mary Hey, Friends Meeting, 1919 Grove St, Boulder, CO 80302 (303) 442-3638.

ILLINOIS
• **Marion** Talk, "Will This Be the Last Thanksgiving?", by Retired Adm. Gene LaRocque, Director of the Center for Defense Information; Marion Civic Center. *Contact:* Mid-America Peace Project, 604 S Oakland St, No. 7, Carbondale, IL 62901 (618) 687-4589.

NOVEMBER 23

COLORADO
• **Denver** A series of discussions, "The Churches and the Nuclear Arms Race," will be held Nov 23 and 30 at the Capital Heights Presbyterian Church. *Contact:* Leslie Lawson, Capital Heights Presbyterian Church, 1100 Filmore, Denver, CO 80206 (303) 333-9366.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
World Congress of the International Association of Educators for World Peace, "Education for Survival," through Nov 27; Georgetown Univ., New South Faculty Lounge. *Contact:* Dr. John Petry, Ball 302, Bureau of Educational Research and Service, Memphis State Univ., Memphis, TN 38152 (901) 454-2362.

FLORIDA
• **Tallahassee** Florida State University's course on Peace covers various disarmament-related issues every Tuesday; guests have included representatives from the Pentagon and the Soviet Embassy. Auditors are welcome; Room 126, Bellamy Bldg., Florida State Univ. *Contact:* Ira Shorr, P.O. Box 20168, Tallahassee, FL 32304 (904) 222-5845.

GEORGIA
• **Atlanta** The Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace Campaign Organization will meet every Tuesday of November; *Contact:* AFSC regional office, 92 Piedmont Av NE, Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 586-0460.

PENNSYLVANIA
• **Valley Forge** Around-the-clock two day vigil at General Electric Space Center that will emphasize the connection between poverty, homelessness, and the production by GE of satellite systems for nuclear weapons; a shanty will be built in front of the plant. *Contact:* Brandywine Peace Community, 51 Barren Rd, Media, PA 19063 (215) 565-0247.

NOVEMBER 24

CONNECTICUT
• **New Haven** Presentation of the Promoting Enduring Peace Award to Randall Forsberg; United Church on the Green. *Contact:* Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460 (203) 878-4769.

NOVEMBER 26

NEW YORK
• **New York** "The Politics of Peace: A Panel Discussion on the State of the Disarmament and Freeze Movement," part of the 1st annual Whole Life Expo. Speakers include Rep. Jonathan Bingham, Dick Gregory, Abbie Hoffman, and Michio Kaku; will be broadcast live by WBAI from the Sheraton Center. *Contact:* Whole Life Times, 89 5th Av, 6th floor, New York, NY 10003 (212) 741-7274.

WISCONSIN
• **Appleton** Convention, "Thanksgiving for Life," of the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition, including workshops on nuclear holocaust and modern warfare, through Nov 28; Paper Valley Hotel and Conference Center. *Contact:* Keith Runnoe, 437 Glenview Av, Combined Locks, WI 54113 (414) 788-4974.

NOVEMBER 27

WASHINGTON
• **Seattle** "From Ideas to Action: Preventing Nuclear War," A workshop on small group techniques for generating ideas and organizing to prevent nuclear war. *Contact:* Experimental College, 307 HUB FK-30 Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195 (206) 543-4375.

NOVEMBER 28

OREGON

• **Portland** Talk by Nora Hallet on the European peace movement and her participation in W. Germany's Peace Week; First United Methodist Church. *Contact:* Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1838 SW Jefferson, Portland, OR 97201 (503) 222-7293.

NOVEMBER 29

COLORADO

• **Boulder** Discussion, "Peaceful Careers" with Pam Solo and others; See **November 22,** Colorado.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Workshops with the National Peace Academy Campaign, panel discussion with members of Congress, and talks by Roger Molander, Bill Wickersham, and others, through Nov 30; Church of the Reformation, 215 E Capital St. *Contact:* International Disarmament Organization, 1011 Arlington Blvd, Suite 119, Arlington, VA 22209 (703) 524-2141.

NEW JERSEY

• **Morristown** Potluck dinner and the films "War Without Winners," "Walking to Moscow," and "Not in Our Backyards"; Church of the Redeemer, 26 South St. *Contact:* Morris County Safe Energy Alternative Alliance, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676.

NOVEMBER 30

NEW YORK

• **Romulus** Leafletting of workers at the Seneca Army Depot; Army Depot's main entrance, every other Tuesday morning. *Contact:* Fingerlakes Peace Alliance, 21 High St, Geneva, NY 14456 (315) 789-2686.

DECEMBER 1

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Concert for the freeze by Charlie Murphy and Jamie Sieber; Universalist Unitarian Church. *Contact:* Judith Dambowic, 221 E Lee St, Tucson, AZ 85705 (602) 792-9051.

DECEMBER 2

MONTANA

• **Missoula** Meeting of all Missoula peace groups; Missoula City Council Chambers. Also, every Thursday the "Peace" lecture series meets in Room 356, Social Science Bldg., Univ. of Montana. *Contact:* Student Action Center, Univ. Center 105, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 (406) 243-5897.

DECEMBER 3

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Every Friday starting Dec 3, there will be a vigil at Mt. Vernon Square sponsored by the Citizens Against Cruise and Pershing Missiles. *Contact:* Peace Coordinating Council, Chaplain's Office, Johns Hopkins Univ., 34 St & Charles, Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 338-8349.

OREGON

• **Portland** Symposium on the arts in the nuclear age, "Facing It: The Human Condition in the Nuclear Age," including dance, theater, music, and panel discussions with writers Ursula LeGuinn and William Stafford, through Dec 4; The Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett. *Contact:* See **November 28,** Oregon.

DECEMBER 4

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Barbara** Talk, "Peace is Made in Pieces," by Gene Hoffman. *Contact:* The Gathering Place, 331 N Milpas St, Santa Barbara, CA (805) 966-4404.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Conference, "The Deadly Connection: Nuclear War and U.S. Intervention," with Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, Randall Forsberg, and others, through Dec 5. *Contact:* AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-6130.

MONTANA

• **Great Falls** Meeting of the Montana Network for Nuclear Disarmament. *Contact:* See **December 2,** Montana.

WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Annual vegetarian banquet of Milwaukee Mobilization for Survival. *Contact:* MfS, 1016 N 9 St, Milwaukee, WI 53233 (414) 272-0961.

DECEMBER 5

LOUISIANA

• **New Orleans** Ecumenical peace service. *Contact:* Joe Doss, 3700 Canal St, New Orleans, LA (504) 482-5242.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis-St. Paul** Demonstration against deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. *Contact:* Minnesota Freeze Campaign, 2395 University Av, No. 212, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

NEW JERSEY

• **Caldwell** Annual fund-raising brunch for New Jersey SANE; Caldwell College, Campus Center. *Contact:* SANE New Jersey, 324 Bloomfield Av, Montclair, NJ 07042 (201) 744-3263.

DECEMBER 7

COLORADO

• **Boulder** Talk, "Acting for Survival," by David Brower; See **November 22,** Colorado.

DELAWARE

• **Dover** Talk by Jim Beatman on the nuclear freeze; Dinner Bell Inn. *Contact:* Downstate Nuclear Freeze Campaign, RD 3 Box C180, Felton, DE 19943 (302) 284-4745.

OREGON

• **Salem** An all-Chopin piano recital by Theodore Sawyer to benefit Citizen Action for Lasting Security; Willamette Univ. *Contact:* CALS, 454 Willamette, Eugene, OR 97401 (503) 343-8548.

DECEMBER 8

NATIONAL

"No to NATO Days": From Dec 8, when NATO talks begin, to Dec 12, the 3rd anniversary of NATO's decision to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, there will be a series of demonstrations around the country protesting the deployment; on Dec 12, these will be joined by demonstrations in Europe. *Contact:* Stop the Cruise/Pershing II Clearinghouse, 4722 Baltimore Av, Philadelphia, PA 19143 (215) 727-1007 or -1464.

VIRGINIA

Talk, "Congress and the Freeze," by Rep. Edward Markey. *Contact:* Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 6718 Rolling Rd, Springfield, VA 22162 (703) 451-5857.

DECEMBER 9

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Barbara** Film, "War Without Winners"; Sola House, 312 E Sola St. *Contact:* See **December 4,** California.

TEXAS

• **San Antonio** Retreat and workshop, "Burnout: Awakening in the Nuclear Age—Despair and Empowerment," Dec 9-10 and Dec 10-11. *Contact:* Burnout, P.O. Box 28098, San Antonio, TX 78284.

DECEMBER 10

TEXAS

• **Austin** Sixth Mobilization for Survival National Conference; Texas Union Bldg., Univ. of Texas, through Dec 12. *Contact:* MfS, 853 Broadway, Suite 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

DECEMBER 11

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Conference on strategies for peace and the economy, with Councilman John Wilson, Seymour Melman, and others, through Dec 12; International Association of Machinists Headquarters Auditorium, 1300 Connecticut Av NW. *Contact:* Robin Madrid, SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

FLORIDA

• **Clearwater** Workshop, "To Be Peacemakers"; Clearwater Central Catholic High School. *Contact:* Pax Christi Florida, 1642 NW 12th Rd, Gainesville, FL 32605 (904) 377-7454.

• **Orlando** Statewide meeting of the Florida Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Orlando Friends Meeting House, 316 Marks St. *Contact:* Bob Brister, AFSC Tampa Bay Program, 130 19th St SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

IOWA

• **Clinton** Conference, "Solutions to the Arms Race," with former Senator Dick Clark, and others; Clinton Community College. *Contact:* Doug Collins, 272 33rd Av N, Clinton, IA 52732 (319) 243-5728.

DECEMBER 12

ARIZONA

• **Tucson** Talk, "Economic Perversion for Peace"; St. Cyril's Church, Pima & Swan Rd, Tucson, AZ 85712 (602) 795-1633.

CALIFORNIA

• **Fort Bragg** Christmas Concert for Peace; Our Lady of Good Counsel Catholic Church, 255 S Harold St. *Contact:* People for a Nuclear Free Future (707) 964-7113.

DECEMBER 16

NEW YORK

• **New York** Talk on the arms race and the defense budget by David Gold; Martin Luther King, Jr. Labor Center, 310 W 43 St. *Contact:* New York PSR, 225 Lafayette St, Room 207, New York, NY 10012 (212) 226-6767.

DECEMBER 19

LOUISIANA

• **New Orleans** "Peace Sunday," an ecumenical rally and peace march down Charles Avenue, with various religious and lay speakers. *Contact:* Judy Rittenhouse, Mennonite Central Committee, 1229 St. Andrew, New Orleans, LA (504) 524-3074.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Talk, "What are the Prospects for Peace? Negotiations on the Arms Race: SALT, START, and the Freeze"; The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, see **November 21,** New York.

DECEMBER 31

VIRGINIA

• **Richmond** World Day of Peace Mass; Cathedral of the Sacred Heart. *Contact:* See **November 20,** Virginia.

JANUARY 27

UTAH & NEVADA

• **St George, Las Vegas, and other cities** Citizens Call is sponsoring candlelight vigils on the 32nd anniversary of testing at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site; people who want to stage support vigils around the country may obtain information and vigil packets from Citizens Call, 126 S 1400 West St, Cedar City, UT 84720 (801) 586-6674.

—Compiled by Walter Lew

The deadline for submitting January calendar events is December 6.

In 1963, nuclear weapons tests went underground.
Over forty underground tests in Nevada have leaked radiation, endangering workers and people living downwind.
More and more tests are taking place as the U.S. builds thousands of new bombs.
While the arms buildup continues none of us is safe.

It's time to stop the testing—once and for all!

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☐ I support a freeze on all U.S. nuclear testing.

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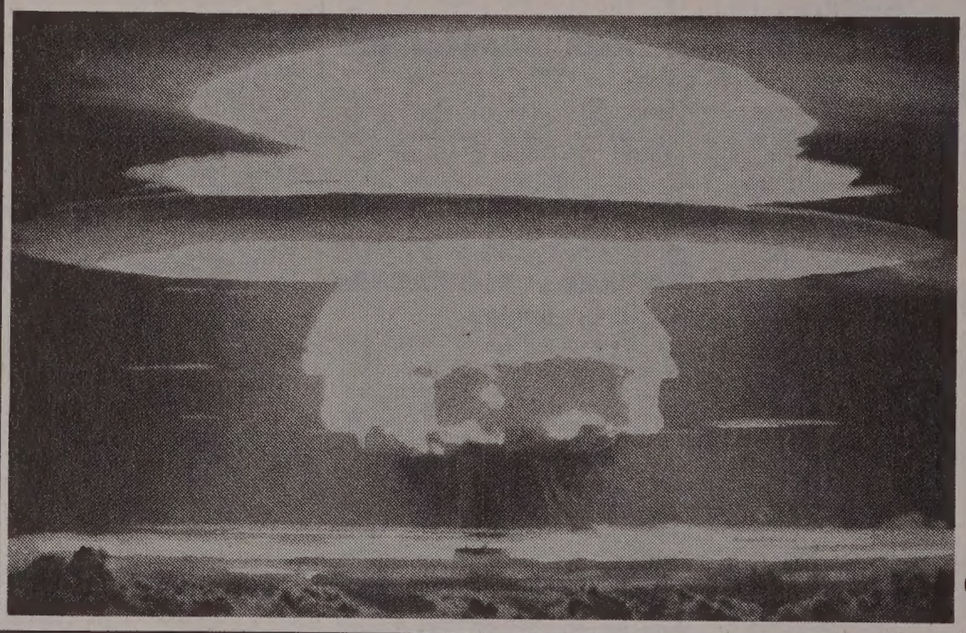

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BY

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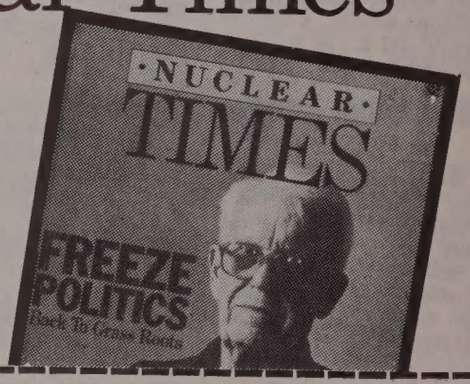

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